Bor.
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Wyatt

Sir Thomas

Wyatt the elder

and

his literary

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– Geschr. p. 1270

THE HISTORY

OF

PRUSSIA:

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY.

TRACING THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

OF HER

MILITARY ORGANIZATION.

BY

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'ORGANIZATION OF ARMIES,' 'AUSTRO-ITALIAN WAR,' 'REVOLUTIONARY SHADOWS,'
'HUNGARIAN CELEBRITIES,' ETC. ETC.

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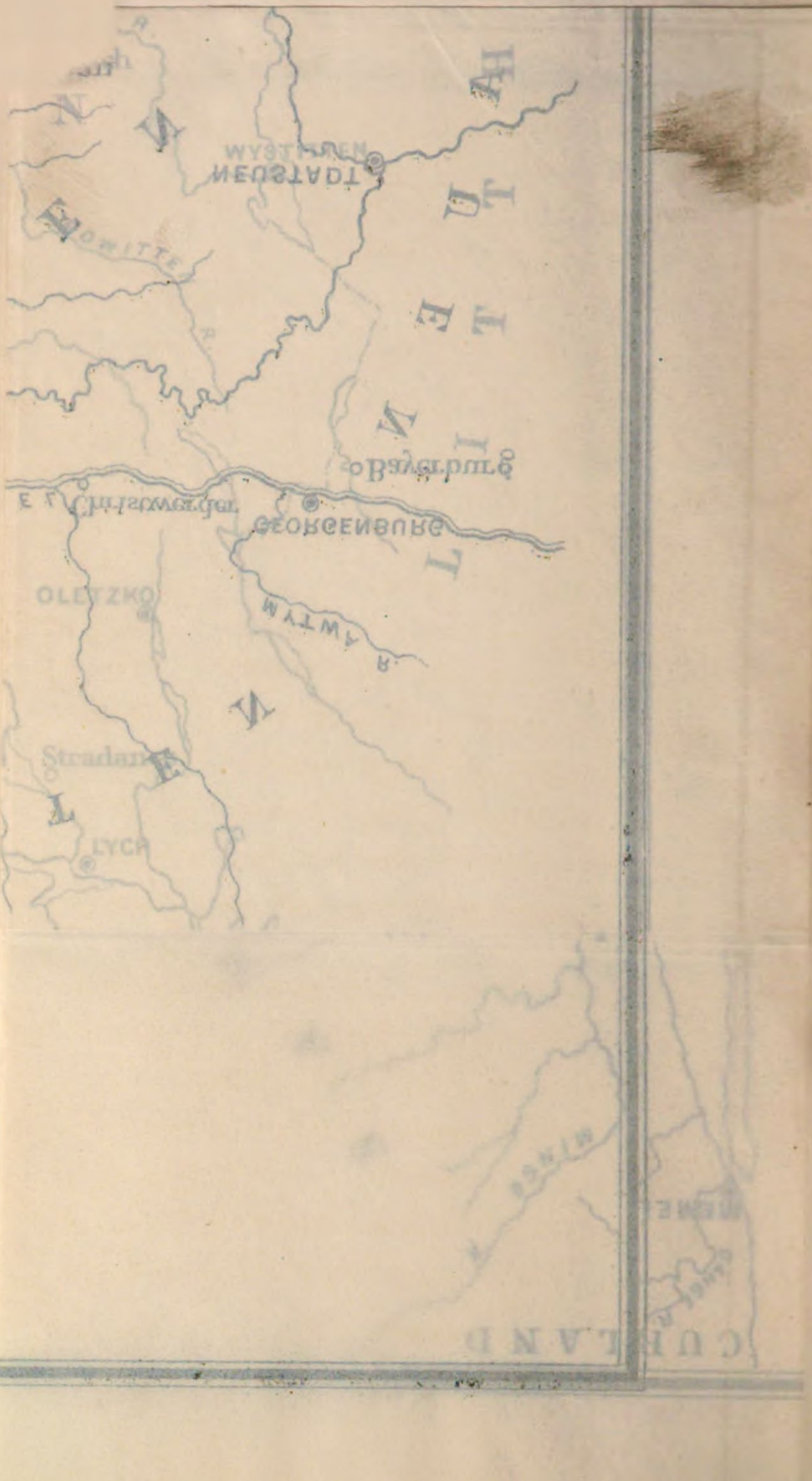
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LYCK
GEORGENBURG
OLETZKO

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CURLAND
DANGE R.
MEMEL
MINGE R.
SAMAITEN
SCHALAUEN
HEIDEKRUG
HELLIGER WALD
CAMON R.
NAWESE R.
MYTWA R.
MEMEL R.
RUSS R.
Nenhaus
Pilkoppen
CURISCHE HEFFING
DAS CURISCHE HAFF
SCHALAUNENBURG (TILSIT)
RAGNIT
Christwerder
GEORGENBURG
Bayerburg
GILGE R.
ARGE R.
Sareka
OSSA R.
PARVE R.
TIMBER R.
LABIAU
SAMLAND
NADRAUEN
INSTER R.
Georgenburg
Kattenau
NEUSTADT
NEUMARKISCHE TIEFEBENE
OSTSEE (BALTIC)
ZARNOWITZ SEE
PUTZIG
PUTZIGER WIECK
REHDA R.
Medenau
Quedenau
KŒNIGSBERG
Lochstadt
WITTLAND
PREGEL R.
TAPIAU
BRANDENBERG
(HONERDA)
Balga
Globuhnau
HEILIGENBEIL
NATANGEN
INSTERBURG
PISSA R.
Otolich
WYSTITTEN
OLIVA
DANZIG
(DANTZIC)
DAS FRISCHE HAFF
Krucken
Pitzen
GERDAUEN
BARTEN
ROWITTEN R.
BRANSBERG
Tolkemit
EYLAU
SCHIPPENBELL
BARTENSTEIN
Sperling
MULHAUSEN
Truso
MELSACK
ANGERBERG
MANUR SEE
STRENGEL SEE
ERMLAND
ELBING
WORMDITT
HEILSBERG
RASTENBURG
Hansen
OLETZKO
Bern
DIROSHAU
Weklitz
DRAUSEN SEE
Schöneck
NOGAT R.
Pr HOLLAND
PASSARGE R.
Glottau
SEEBURG
RÖSSEL
BISCH SEE
RHEIN
Stradanen
FERSE R.
Stargard
MARIENBURG
CHRISTBURG
Pelplin
Zantir
MOHRUNGEN
Pr Mark
BERTING SEE
SCHILLINGS SEE
BISHOFSBURG
Ekersberg
ARNO SEE
LYCH
WADANG SEE
PISCH R.
ALTE R.
Tiefenau
Quidian
RIESENBURG
MARIENWERDER
ALLENSTEIN
SPERLING SEE
POMERELLEN
NEUENBURG
GESERICH SEE
DREWENZ SEE
OSTERODE
Schönberg
GARNSEE
PASSENHIEM
JOHANNISBURG
LYCH R.
EYLAU
LANSKER SEE
GRANDENZ
Lessen
Bishofswerder
ORTELSBURG
WYSA R.
Sartowitz
Engelsburg
NEUMARK
MUHLEN SEE
Faunenberg
MELLNO SEE
RENSEN SEE
SWETZ R.
Colno
VISTULA R.
CULM
RHEDEN
ROMAN SEE
GILGENBERG
NIEDENBURG
Gardinen
VINCENTE R.
BOBER R.
Althaus
Leipe
STRASBURG
WILLENBERG
ROSSOGA R.
DITWO R.
OMMLEFF R.
CULMERLAND
LOEBAU
GALINDIEN
LAUTENBURG
GARTHE
CULMSEE
Schönaee
GOLUB
DREWENZ R.
ARETIS R.
Dobrin
MLAWA
Striga
SOLDAU R.
NAREW R.
Alt Thorn
THORN
Lubitsch
Zlotoria
DOBRIN
MICHELAU
MASOVIA

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HISTORY OF PRUSSIA.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 700—1020.

Geographical Extent of Ancient Prussia—Origin of the Word "Prussia"—The Original Inhabitants—Appearance and Dress—Mode of Subsistence—Manners and Customs—Domestic and Social Laws—Priests and Priestesses—Religious Rites and Ceremonies—Mode of Government—Regal and Judicial Functions—Military Organization—Description of Prussia by English Explorers sent by Alfred the Great—Swithbertus, the First Christian Missionary to the Prussians—Life, Labours, and Martyrdom of Saint Adalbert—Life and Death of the Missionary Bruno—Invasion of Prussia and Conquest of Pomerania by Boleslaus, King of Poland—Forcible Conversion of the Prussians to Christianity—Speedy Return to Idolatry.

PRUSSIA, which now occupies so wide a space in European history, at the same time that it embraces territorially a considerable part of Germany and ancient Poland—not including those kingdoms and states which have recently acknowledged its political headship—was originally a country very circumscribed in its geographical dimensions.* It

* It consisted, in fact, only of what is now called the "Province of Prussia," formerly divided into "East Prussia" and "West

was known to the ancient Phœnicians and Greeks principally on account of the trade in amber, large quantities of which were found, then as now, cast up by the sea on the southern coast of the Baltic, between Königsberg and Memel. There is no doubt that it was visited by Pytheas of Marseilles, who lived either in the time of Alexander the Great or of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and wrote an account of his travels, some fragments of which have come down to us. At a still later period the Romans got their supply of amber from the same coast, a description of which is given by Claudius Ptolemæus, a writer of the second century of our era. This geographer, in enumerating the various nations of European Sarmatia, mentions the "Borusci" as one of the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Vistula, though somewhat in the interior.

As to the etymology of the word Boi-Russia, B'Russia, P'Russia, Prussia, there is much uncertainty.

There were Letts, Goths, Wends, Sclaves, all living in proximity to each other and subdivided into numerous tribes, but to which of all these the progenitors of the modern Prussians belonged it is impossible to trace; and, in fact, there is as little reliance to be placed on those writers who say

Prussia," lying between 52° 54′ and 55° 53′ N. lat., and between 16° 42′ and 22° 45′ E. long., having an area of 24,880 square miles.

that the word Boi-Russia signifies, in Lithuanian, "bordering on Russia," as there is upon those who affirm it to mean "bordering on the Reussen,"—an insignificant river of that name. Others affirm that it means "behind Russia," or behind "the Reussen."*

We are upon safer ground in affirming that the manners and customs of the old Prussians were originally very much akin to those of the ancient Germans, as described by Tacitus, mixed up with which were practices and observances borrowed from the Sclaves and Scandinavians, in whose proximity they dwelt, and who, doubtless, influenced them in a variety of ways.

From all that can be gathered, there is little doubt that the ancient Prussians were a splendid race of barbarians. They were tall of stature, with blue eyes and ruddy complexion, and distinguished for their valour and great bodily strength; they also lived to a great age. Their usual dress consisted of linen and partly of woollen stuff; the latter being used, for the most part, by the more pros-

* Cf. Cluverius, 'Germania Antiqua' (p. 195):—"Prussiorum primus meminit Helmoldus in chronico Slavorum: apud quem, ut apud Mag. Adamum Bremensem, sunt *Pruzzi*, Bremensium dialecto, quâ dicuntur vulgo 'Prützen.' Sigeberto, in chronico Italicæ gentis vocabulo appellantur Brutii: Delirant qui, Boruscos, corrumpunt in Borussos interpretanturque Prussios. Nec minor est eorum error, qui gentem hac dictam volunt Sarmaticâ linguâ Prussacy quasi, Porussacy, id est, juxta Russos colentes: Quippe Russi nulli umquam ævo prope Prussiam incoluerunt."

perous class. Hunting, fishing, the ruder forms of agriculture, and the care of flocks, afforded employment and the principal means of subsistence to the inhabitants, who, in the very remote periods, are reported to have been possessed of large quantities of skins of animals, and to have disposed of them, sometimes by way of sale, sometimes in exchange for woollen cloths and ornaments. It would appear that at a very early date the Prussians constructed boats and small craft for the conveyance of goods on the Baltic, and that they ventured in these vessels even to the ports on the coast of Sweden.

The Prussians had some very peculiar domestic institutions. For instance, the head of a family was permitted to get rid of invalid parents, children, or servants, by burning them, the victims being considered to be purified and sanctified by the agency of fire. Similarly, a father was at liberty to destroy sickly or deformed children by drowning or burning, on the principle that "affliction is hateful to both God and man."

When a person of distinction was seriously ill, priests attended by his bedside day and night, recited certain appointed prayers, and made a vow to appease the anger of the gods. If the patient continued to suffer, they gave him ashes from the sacred fire. If even this brought no improvement, his friends and relatives held a consultation, and if they then despaired of his recovery, they suffocated

him; such a death being considered a painless relief from the agonies of an incurable malady.

An excess of female children in one family not being approved of, the father was allowed to destroy them, or to sell them to strangers.

In dealing with crime, they recognized wilful murder as a heinous offence, punishable by death, without alternative of pecuniary compensation, the murderer being usually given over to the friends and relatives of the victim. Concubinage was strictly prohibited, although a man could have three wives. For a person convicted of adultery, whether man or woman, the punishment was burning. The laws with respect to married women were very severe. A woman convicted of cursing her husband was liable to be punished in the following manner: four huge stones were tied round her neck, and she was conducted about the neighbouring villages until she received absolution from the Kriwe or priest. A wife who ill-treated or abused her husband might be either whipped or condemned to death; if found guilty of striking her husband, she was liable to have her nose cut off.

Theft was punished severely. For a first offence the thief was whipped; for a second he was beaten with a club; for a third, his body was torn to pieces. It is not clear by whom punishment was awarded for minor criminal offences. The nobles and the chief landed proprietors probably exer-

cised some kind of judicial authority over the families residing in their vicinity, or under their protection.

Considerable powers were also possessed by the "Kriwe," and by the civil and military ruler, called the "Reiks." Though it is difficult, if not indeed impossible, at the present time, to define the extent of the authority of these several rulers, yet it is desirable to indicate, in general terms, the character of their respective functions.

At the head of the priests was, so to speak, a high priest, who was styled the Grand Kriwe, and who was supposed to be in constant communication with the spirits of the departed. This dignitary resided in the heart of the country, in a grove which was called the Romowe, and which no one, except a certain class of priests, was allowed to enter. The country was divided into districts; there being a spiritual head, called the Kriwe, a priest who acted as judge and lawgiver, whose decrees were respected and obeyed by the princes of the district, and to whom the Reiks, accompanied by a retinue of attendants, sometimes came for advice on matters of great importance. In the Romowe stood a large oak-tree, about which was a space surrounded by drapery, where the high priest performed the sacred ceremonies. From the branches were suspended coloured flags, emblematical of the different deities.

It is not easy to draw a line of demarcation

between the authority of the Reiks and that of the Kriwe, but it is certain that the Reiks commanded in time of war and exercised the executive power in time of peace, whilst the Kriwe discharged judicial and priestly functions. There were several classes of priests subordinate to the Grand Kriwe. The highest class, called Kriwaiten or Griwaiten, consisted, probably, of those who were permitted to enter the sacred precincts of the Romowe. They were twelve in number, and formed a sort of privy council. The Grand Kriwe was always chosen from this body. The priests next in rank were called Siggonen or Siggonoten; they resided in the vicinity of the sacred Romowe, and it is probable that their duty was to take charge of the sacred forest springs and trees, as also to receive the sacrifices which were offered. The third order consisted of priests of inferior rank, called Wurskaiten, whose duty it probably was to superintend the sacrificial rites and other ceremonies.

In early times female soothsayers exercised considerable influence in the management of affairs. These personages, who generally dwelt in retired and lonely spots, appear to have been in some way connected with the priesthood. Tradition speaks of a famous member of this class who resided in the district of Galinden. The following story may be taken as evidence of the influence of this latter priestess. The Galinder had for several years

énjoyed an unusual amount of prosperity, when, unfortunately, they found that the population was so rapidly increasing that the country would, in a very short time, be quite unable to support them; whereupon the principal men determined that, for a certain period, all female children should be destroyed immediately after birth. As might be expected, many mothers concealed the children they pretended to have destroyed; and the deception becoming known, their breasts were cut off by order of their husbands.

The unfortunate women repaired to the priestess, who promised that they should be avenged. She ordered all the principal nobles and military men to assemble at her abode on an appointed day, when she declared that the gods had directed them to collect all the fighting men, and to invade the territory of their Christian neighbours, but *unarmed*. This they did, committing frightful excesses, and carrying off an immense amount of booty. On their return they were waylaid by the Christians, and literally exterminated.

Besides sacrificial rites, various religious festivals were arranged and conducted by the priests, characterized, as in the case of the Scandinavian Goths, by excesses in eating and drinking. On such occasions they drank fermented milk, and even blood.

The first of the festivals was held in the spring. It may, perhaps, be regarded as a Pagan parallel to

the Christian Rogation days. The peculiarity of the ceremony deserves special notice. The priest, having first invoked a blessing from the presiding deity of fruits, would take a bowl of beer between his teeth, without touching it with his hands, and when he had drunk the liquid, would dexterously throw it over his head. A similar rite was then performed by another priest, after a prayer to the god of rain and sunshine, and a yet further performance of the same feat was preceded by a prayer to the god of the stars to give light and heat, that the earth might be fruitful.

One of the principal deities was the god of water. He was always consulted in case of war. To propitiate him, or to appease his anger, it was usual to sacrifice infants amid the burning of incense. To the god of thunder was attributed the power of controlling or preventing lightning, thunder, hail-storms, and other atmospheric phenomena. The sun, moon, stars, birds, and even toads, were also worshipped. If amongst their many deities there was one corresponding with the Zeus, or Jupiter, of classic heathenism, his name has not been handed down. For the glory and honour of the god of thunder, a sacred fire was kept constantly burning; in honour of the god of water, a live snake was kept in a vase, and fed upon milk; for the god of death, a vase was kept filled with oil.

On the invasion of Prussia by Boleslaus, these ceremonies were strictly prohibited; but in order

to preserve the sacred customs during the Polish wars, the Grand Priest forsook his ancient grove, and took up his abode in one of the impenetrable fastnesses of the country.

The "Reiks" was considered the commander-in-chief. Minor commands were given by selection, and occasionally, when the entire fighting population had to take the field, the supreme command was given to some celebrated friendly prince. It would seem also to have been not unusual for the nobles to assemble an army, and invade an enemy's territory on their own responsibility.

The country was divided into districts, in each of which a certain number of warriors were stationed for the protection of the frontiers. The warriors were generally armed with clubs, and they bore also slings and a kind of hammer, originally made of stone, and afterwards of iron. In the Polish wars they appear to have used swords and poisoned javelins. In later years, when attacking cavalry, they had long lances and shields, and it is more than probable that they wore cuirasses. When the army advanced to battle, a large flag was attached to a spear. On this there were represented either the figures of the principal deities in blue colour, or other allegorical devices. Sometimes the flag was charged with the figure of a human body with a bear's head.

Before undertaking a war, they bound a prisoner to a tree and hurled darts at him. If blood gushed

forth, it was a good omen, if not, it was a sign of ill-success. After an engagement, the fourth part of the plunder was sacrificed to the gods. The chief captives were generally immolated; sometimes, however, they were spared in consideration of a ransom.

It is evident that these early Prussians lived in a state of the greatest ignorance. Arts and sciences were utterly unknown. It is asserted, but the evidence is not satisfactory, that the priests were acquainted with some sort of Runic characters. It would seem that even when the Teutonic race first settled in Prussia, the inhabitants had no knowledge of reading or writing, as no traces of any inscriptions were found.

Their notions as to the division of time were crude and peculiar. The day was divided, not into hours, but into several portions, named according to the occupations in which the people were mainly engaged at the particular times. In like manner, the year was divided into two seasons only, summer and winter, the harvest time being regarded as the beginning of the year. Later, they divided the year into months, designated from some peculiarity of the season.

According to Langebeck, Dahlmann, and other writers, Alfred the Great despatched two able and experienced seamen, Other and Wulfstan by name, on a voyage of inspection along the coast of Prussia, with instructions to open negotiations with the

tribes on the sea-board of the Baltic. They accordingly set sail from a trading port in Sleswig, whence they coasted along what was then called Wendenland, or the land of the Wends; passing by the islands of Laaland and Bornholm, which then belonged to Denmark, and the islands Œland and Gothland, which belonged to Sweden. They then penetrated into the country watered by the Vistula and its tributaries.

On their return, they gave a very good description of the country on both sides of the Vistula, and of the tribes inhabiting those parts. They reported that the various tribes were ruled by a number of petty kings, whose capitals were nothing but large strongholds; that the natives understood the art of embalming the dead and that of freezing liquids in summer. According to the same authority, the bodies were burnt and the ashes committed to the ground. The property of the deceased was divided, and placed in heaps at long distances from the grave, the most costly articles being at the greatest distance. The best horsemen then competed for the prizes, the swiftest receiving the largest share. We are not told that any provision was made for the family. As long as the body remained unburied, even for months, feasting and drinking appear to have been the order of the day, and it is stated that the higher the rank of the deceased, the longer his remains were kept above ground.

As with most of the Gothic nations, the precise date of the introduction of Christianity into the country is uncertain. Popular legends would lead to the belief that St. Swithbertus, who flourished from the middle of the seventh century to the first decade of the eighth, was the first who related the story of the four Evangelists in Prussia. He was an Englishman, and is supposed to have been one of twelve missionaries sent by Egbert to convert the idolaters. It is to St. Adalbert, however, that the honour must be ascribed, without doubt, of having been the first Christian missionary to the Prussian heathens.

This remarkable man was born in the year 950, in the district of Lubik, in Bohemia. His father's name was Slawnik and his mother's Strzezislawa, which means purity. His family appears to have been connected with the royal house of Bohemia, and he was baptized under the name of Woycech, or Woyteg. He was at first intended for court life, on account of his personal beauty and prepossessing manners. During an illness which seemed likely to prove fatal to him, his parents made a vow to the Holy Virgin that if he recovered he should be devoted to the service of God. With this view, as soon as he attained a fitting age, he was sent to the celebrated school at Magdeburg, then under the superintendence of the great Archbishop Adalbert. This ecclesiastic had for many years devoted his energies to the conversion of

the heathen Sclaves, and it was through his influence that his young pupil determined to become a missionary. The Archbishop committed the young Count to the care of Otherich, one of the greatest scholars of Germany; and when he took orders, the Archbishop, in order to encourage him to follow in his footsteps, gave him his own name of Adalbert.

In a short time young Adalbert became celebrated for the simplicity of his life and the intensity of his religious convictions. He devoted his spare time to attendance upon the sick and poor. Otherich having had a dispute with the Archbishop, and having retired to the court of the Emperor Otho, who made him his chaplain, the Archbishop took pains himself to train the young priest for the great object he had in view.

In the year 981 the Archbishop died, and Adalbert, after having been nine years in the cloister of Moritz, repaired to Prague, where he performed the duties of priest under Bishop Ditmar. On the death of this bishop in 983, Duke Boleslaus and his nobles elected Adalbert Bishop of Prague. The mass of the Bohemians at this time, from the highest to the lowest, still retained many of the vices of barbarism, particularly immorality and drunkenness. Even the priests led a life which was utterly repugnant to the mind of the young bishop, who in vain attempted to alter the state of things, so that in the course of a short

time he became the most unpopular ecclesiastic in Bohemia. We are told that having seen a divine apparition of Christ, he determined, in 984, to leave Prague, with the intention of undertaking a pilgrimage to the Holy Sepulchre. To prepare himself for this, he first directed his steps to Rome, where he resigned his bishopric to Pope John XIV., and proceeded to the cloister of Cassino. Here the attractions of a retired life seem to have overcome his desire to visit the Holy Land, and by the advice of the Abbot of Cassino he sought admission to the cloister of "Vallis Lucis," but the Abbot Nilus declined to admit him, as its members were all Greek monks of the order of St. Basilius. Nilus, however, gave him letters of introduction to the Abbot of St. Alexius, at Rome, where he became a monk. Here he appears to have passed his time in devotions, study, and attending the sick. A brother monk, Gaudentius, was his companion.

During the absence of Adalbert from Bohemia, the people sank day by day deeper in the mire of immorality, and Duke Boleslaus, fearing the very extinction of Christianity among his subjects, requested the Bishop of Mentz to ask Pope John XV. either to send back Adalbert or to appoint a new bishop in his place. The Pope did the former. Adalbert left the cloister with extreme reluctance, and returned to Prague in 993. Here he again commenced a fresh crusade against

all evil-doers, and again he was regarded with dislike and hatred. Unfortunately, this feeling on the part of the people was greatly increased by the following incident.

The wife of a nobleman lived in adultery with a priest at Prague. The friends of the husband, on hearing it, communicated it to his relatives, who, according to the ancient Bohemian custom, attempted to seize her for the purpose of cutting off her head. The woman escaped and sought refuge in the cloister of St. George, which was attached to the Bishop's palace. The people surrounded it and demanded that Adalbert should surrender her. He not only refused to do this, but went amongst the people, and, with an excess of unjustifiable zeal and self-sacrifice, declared himself to be the adulterer. This he probably did for the purpose of obtaining a martyr's death, but the people refused to believe him. They stormed the cloister and decapitated the woman. Disgusted with the people, Adalbert again resigned his bishopric, and returned to Rome in the year 995, taking up his abode at the cloister of St. Alexius. The Pope, greatly incensed at the conduct of his clergy and the Bohemians, placed them under interdict, and the people, in revenge, burnt the entire village where Adalbert was born, and killed his brothers.

Boleslaus now again entreated the Pope to order Adalbert to return to his bishopric, which he did in the year 996, John XV., who was then Pope,

having given Adalbert permission to undertake a mission to convert the heathens, should he again be treated as on the former occasion by the Bohemians. After crossing the Alps, he visited the court of the Archbishop of Mentz, where he met the Emperor Otho III., who had formerly known him in Hungary and Rome. The Emperor, struck by the extraordinary talents of the Bishop, had him constantly with him, for the purpose of asking his advice concerning the laws of the empire. When attending the Emperor, Adalbert performed the meanest functions of servitude. It is related that he used to pass the greater part of the time in cleaning the boots and shoes of the Emperor's retinue, and waited at table, if he had the chance. In Adalbert the Emperor saw an instrument by which his empire might be increased, by reason of his wonderful gift of oratory and his profound knowledge of the Sclave languages. The enthusiastic Bishop listened with feelings of delight to the Emperor's description of the gratitude with which the whole of Christendom would learn that he had undertaken the dangerous mission of converting the Sclavonic races of the North. Fired with enthusiasm, it was only natural for Adalbert to imagine that the Saviour had assigned this duty expressly to him, and in the execution of it he looked forward to the long-cherished desire of his youth, a martyr's death.

By the advice of the Emperor and of the Arch-

bishop of Mentz, he first visited some of the most celebrated schools of learning in France, and afterwards proceeded to the court of Boleslaus IV., reigning Duke of Poland, in whose service his brother then was. The Duke received him with great honours, and at Adalbert's request despatched messengers to ascertain the feelings with which the Bohemians were animated towards their former bishop. The answer was in the highest degree unsatisfactory. The Bohemians regarded the return of the fiery Apostle of Morality with feelings of dismay and detestation. Adalbert now devoted his energies to the teaching of religious doctrines in the province of Cracow. He afterwards went to Hungary for the same purpose, and on his return to the court of Poland, he was for some time undecided whether to proceed to the conversion of the Pomeranians, or that of the Prussians. Boleslaus, who regarded the latter, on account of their bravery, as the most desirable proselytes to Christianity, since their conversion would lead to the ultimate absorption of their country by him, naturally advised Adalbert to proceed to Prussia, and placed at his disposal a ship with thirty armed veterans. Adalbert was accompanied by his old companion Gaudentius, and by a priest named Benedict.

They sailed up the Vistula as far as Dantzig. Here it is stated that Adalbert converted a large number of heathens. From Dantzig he proceeded in the open sea to East Prussia, and landed on

the banks of a small island in the Haff. Here, though received most inhospitably, he sent back the ship with the armed escort, and proceeded on his undertaking, accompanied by his two faithful friends. He advanced to the districts of Samland, where also he met with a most hostile reception, and, in order to save his life, was obliged to recross the river during the night. Adalbert and his companions remained in the vicinity for some days, after which they determined to advance further into the country. Without knowing it, they appear to have traversed a sacred forest belonging to the Romowe, and on its borders, after Mass, they seem to have fallen asleep, when they were suddenly aroused by the cries of the priests, demanding that they should immediately withdraw. This Adalbert refused to do, and a priest, it is stated, hurled a spear at him, which entered his breast. Adalbert, having in a short time received six other wounds, fell dead to the ground, his body in falling taking the shape of a crucifix. This occurred on the 23rd of April, 997; his head was cut off and taken away, the body being left for a time on the ground where it fell. Such was the end of this enterprising and devoted missionary.

It is related that immediately after his death a mysterious feeling of reverence overtook the heathens who came to view the corpse, and that in their dread they sent messengers to Boleslaus, saying, "We have the body of your God, and we are

ready to sell it for its weight in silver." The Duke consented, but when the messengers appeared with the money, it was found that the body had no weight whatever. Boleslaus ordered it to be interred with great pomp at Gnesen. In a very short time Germany and Italy were informed that extraordinary wonders and miracles had taken place at the grave of Adalbert. The Emperor Otho III., in order to display his zeal for the propagation of Christianity and the respect which he entertained for the memory of Adalbert, undertook a pilgrimage to his grave in the year 1000. At a great court ceremony in celebration of the event, he took the crown from his own head and placed it on that of Boleslaus, presenting him at the same time with a spear of St. Mauritius and a nail of the holy cross. In addition he declared that Boleslaus, on account of the brotherly love he had displayed towards Adalbert and the extent of his dominions, was worthy of the title of King of Poland. This rank the Duke accepted, and presented the Emperor with an arm of St. Adalbert. He also caused a medal to be struck in commemoration of the event. The Emperor further made Gnesen an archbishopric, and bestowed the see on Gaudentius.

In the year 1038, Gnesen fell into the hands of Brzetislaus, Duke of Bohemia, who carried off the body of St. Adalbert and deposited it in the cathedral of Prague. The Bishop of Prague was then in about the same position as Adalbert was when

compelled to leave Bohemia. His successor seems to have understood how to work on the minds of the Bohemians through the miracles and wonders of Adalbert's martyrdom, for we are told that the laity and clergy now became far more exemplary in their morals. Churches were erected in his honour all over Europe, and, in later years, the Cathedral of Königsberg was reared to commemorate him; a chapel, too, was built on the place where he met his martyrdom, and Pope Eugenius IV. granted an Indulgence to all those who made a pilgrimage to this hallowed spot.

The work commenced by Adalbert was continued by another celebrated missionary, named Bruno, who was a man of noble birth, and educated in a Benedictine monastery under the direction of his uncle, Bishop Ditmar, the celebrated historian of those times, who has, in fact, handed down his opinion of Bruno. He says, "Otio negotium preposuit et sic fructificans ad maturitatem pervenit." Bruno was despatched to Rome by the Emperor Otho for the purpose of bringing about the election of his nephew as Pope.

At the court of Rome he became acquainted with Adalbert, who was constantly in the Emperor's society. Having forsaken the court, he took up his residence at the Benedictine monastery on the Aventine Hill as a monk. Here he formed the acquaintance of two monks, named Johannes and Benedict, who regarded him as a brother. It is

related that all three attempted to vie with one another in self-mortification.

Bruno requested Pope Silvester II. to allow him and his two companions to undertake a mission to Prussia, for the purpose of assisting his friend Adalbert. This was granted, and the Pope raised him to the rank of archbishop of the countries he should convert; but unfortunately, just as he was about to start, news arrived of the death of the proto-missionary. This delayed his journey for two or three years, when he started on his dangerous expedition, accompanied by his two friends, in the year 1000.

Contrary to expectation, Bruno appears to have been received by the Prussians very favourably, and to have preached the Gospel for a period of four years, when he returned to Rome, leaving several of his companions to continue his work. In recognition of his labours, he was made chaplain to the Emperor; and the glowing account which Bruno gave to the Papal court induced the Roman pontiff to send two other missionaries to Prussia. Unfortunately, through the ill-judged zeal of those whom Bruno had left behind him in Prussia to continue his labours, the inhabitants became indignant at the contemptuous manner with which the missionaries spoke of their gods and their religion, and in the end rose and massacred them. This news induced the Roman Pontiff to despatch Bruno on a second mission.

Boleslaus received him with great splendour, and gave him every possible assistance, but could not give him that which the missionary most required, viz., an armed force, as his troops were at that time engaged in various wars with Russia, Prussia, and also with the Bohemians, who were endeavouring to obtain Silesia. Boleslaus, however, gave him some magnificent presents, which Bruno declined to accept for himself, and requested that they should be bestowed on the Church.

This time the Prussians, who had become hostile to missionaries, received Bruno in a very unfriendly manner, and ordered him to return at once to Poland. On his reaching the frontiers of Lithuania he was seized by the inhabitants and put to death, with eighteen of his followers. The King of Poland purchased his body, and had it interred in Poland. His aged father, on hearing the news, retired into a monastery, where he died broken-hearted. The court of Rome, however, which was continually seeking to develope its power, spared no means to attain its ends, no matter in what manner those ends could be secured. Missionaries were daily sent out for the purpose of spreading the doctrines of Christianity, and these unfortunate men had often to undergo the most terrible hardships, not unfrequently to suffer a martyr's death. Brought up, as they were, in cloisters, they were made to believe that if they did not endure meekly all tribulation and bodily pains their souls would be

lost, and they would undoubtedly be claimed by Satan on their death. In fact, from what we can glean from the missionaries proceeding to Prussia, it would appear that the Prussians did not object to their visiting them, and the reason why Bruno was murdered was the belief that he was the emissary of the King of Poland, who wished to subjugate their country, and force them to renounce their religion.

After the death of Bruno, the Polish king was enabled, through the victory he had gained over the Emperor Henry, to invade Prussia in the year 1015, after having conquered the greater part of Pomerania, under the specious plea of avenging the deaths of the two missionaries, Bruno and Adalbert. He advanced into Prussia by way of Culm, devastated the entire country, and reduced the Prussians to such extremities, that the latter, to save themselves from total destruction, embraced the Catholic religion, to which they only remained faithful so long as their conquerors were in the country. For upwards of two hundred years, a blood-thirsty war was carried on, under the pretext of avenging the death of the two unfortunate martyrs, Adalbert and Bruno. The Prussians, through their crafty manœuvres and hereditary bravery, were able to maintain their independence and religious rites, although the neighbouring tribes gradually embraced the religion of their conquerors.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1020—1220.

Condition of Poland from Boleslaus I. to Casimir I.—The Prussians and Pomeranians invade Poland (1103)—Total Defeat by Boleslaus II.—Unsuccessful Invasion of Prussia by the Poles—Successful Invasion of Prussia by Casimir II.—Efforts of the Duke of Masovia to Convert the Heathens—Life and Labours of Monk Christian—Christian, First Bishop of Masovia—Formation of the Order "Knights of Dobrin"—State of Pomerania from the Death of Subislaus—Duke Swantepol becomes Regent—Danish Colony in Prussia—Colonization of Liefland (Livonia) by the Germans—Monk Meinhard, First Bishop of Liefland (1191)—Bishop Albert founds Riga (1199)—Foundation of the Military Order "Sword-Brothers"—Subjugation of the Estlanders by Bishop Albert (1211)—Dietrich, First Bishop of Estland (Esthonia).

It now became quite clear to the Church of Rome that if the Prussians were to be converted to Christianity, and reduced to submit either to Poland or the Empire—in other words, to use a modern phrase, to be "brought within the sphere of European politics"—the individual efforts of missionaries, however ardent and self-sacrificing, would not be sufficient. By force of arms alone could this be effected.

After the death of Adalbert, followed by that of

Bruno, the Prussians were frequently harassed by the Poles, who were their most immediate neighbours.

Under King Boleslaus, who reigned from 999 to 1025, the Poles, although nominally Christianized, were almost as barbarous as the Prussians in their manners and customs. They were more luxurious and more inclined to bloodshed and rapine than the latter, who were simple in their habits, although crafty and vindictive towards their enemies.

Boleslaus extended his dominions considerably, and on his death was succeeded by his son, Miecislaus II., who ruled from 1025 to 1034. He was a man of little energy or capacity, and gave himself up to sensuality and debauchery, which resulted in madness and a premature death. During his misrule, the Bohemians, Moravians, and Saxons revolted successfully, and on his death Poland became a prey to anarchy and bloodshed. Various chieftains contended for the supreme power. One of them, named Masos, cupbearer to the late king, seized the country between the Vistula and the Bug, which was hence called Masovia. This state of anarchy continued until 1041, when an Assembly was convoked at Gnesen, in which the majority agreed to recall Prince Casimir, the son of Miecislaus, who had retired to a cloister.

Prince Casimir accepted the crown with great reluctance, but soon reduced the rebels to submission. The most troublesome was Masos, whom he

defeated in a great battle on the Vistula, when 15,000 of the insurgents were left on the field.

In 1103, we find that the Prussians had made considerable progress in the art of war, for they had already constructed several strongholds, and had succeeded in forming alliances with neighbouring tribes, to prevent the constant inroads of the Poles. In conjunction with the Pomeranians they invaded Poland, but were totally defeated by Boleslaus II., called Czriworski, and forced to acknowledge him as their ruler. Through the partition of Poland, which took place at this period, the Prussians enjoyed a respite of peace; but Boleslaus Ceilpus, who ruled over Masovia and Coja, and also a portion of Poland, probably the district of Cracow, attacked the Prussians with a large army, and defeated them. The latter agreed to pay a yearly tribute and to be baptized, but on paying the first annual instalment they induced the Poles to forego the necessity of their accepting the Christian religion. The Prussians shortly afterwards renewed hostilities, and invaded the territory of Culm and Masovia. The Poles, under Boleslaus and his brothers, having collected all their forces, advanced into Prussia, which they found entirely deserted, the inhabitants having retreated to their swamps and forests. Some Prussians, who professed fidelity to the Poles, offered to discover the place of refuge of their countrymen. Boleslaus accepted the proffered service, and the Prussians

treacherously managed to lead the unsuspecting Poles into a vast marsh, where they were surrounded on all sides by the Prussians, and almost annihilated. Boleslaus and his brother Miczetlaus escaped with only a few followers.

Poland now again became the scene of intestine struggles, so that the defeat remained unavenged until the accession of Casimir II., who, having overcome all his rivals, became undisputed sovereign of Poland in 1191. His first act was to declare war against the Prussians, who had taken advantage of internal dissensions to plunder portions of Poland. Casimir assembled a large army, under the command of several princes and nobles, in the vicinity of the district where was subsequently built the town of Thorn. He then crossed the Vistula and devastated the country far and wide. The Prussians, conscious of their weakness and their inability to oppose such a force as Casimir had mustered, retreated to their forests and fastnesses; and being convinced that all resistance would be hopeless, they sent an embassy to the Polish king suing for peace, and offering to agree to any reasonable conditions. The king demanded the payment of the tribute in arrears, the restoration of all captives, and 100 hostages as security for the fulfilment of the conditions. On the Prussians discharging their obligations, Casimir returned with his army to Poland. Having tri-

umphed over all his enemies, Casimir governed in peace until his death in 1194.

Poland now again became the prey of civil war and intestine dissensions, as Casimir's sons were yet minors, and two rivals, Miecislaus and Letzko, contended for the crown. Miecislaus invited to his aid the Duke of Silesia and Boleslaus of Breslau. A great battle ensued, which proved undecisive, and both sides were too much weakened to renew hostilities. Miecislaus having contrived, however, to induce his opponent to withdraw his claims, he seized the crown, which he did not live long to enjoy. On his death, in 1205, the two sons of Casimir had attained their majority, and agreed to divide the kingdom between them. Duke Letzko had for his share Cracow, Pomerania, and Syradien, while his younger brother, Conrad, became ruler of Masovia, Cujavia, and the whole district of Culm and Dobrin.

Masovia, which had hitherto formed an integral part of Poland, now became a separate and independent sovereignty. Duke Conrad was a man of some capacity, but, unhappily, of a cruel and tyrannical disposition. He was overbearing in success, cowardly and submissive in defeat. During his reign the first serious attempt was made to convert the heathens of Masovia and the adjoining country to Christianity, for until this time many Poles still adhered to heathenism. The principal spirit of this undertaking was monk Christian.

This celebrated monk, a native of Pomerania, was educated at the Cistercian Cloister of Oliva. In due course he became a monk in the Benedictine Monastery of Kolbatz, in the Neumark, which was founded and richly endowed by Wratislaus, a Pomeranian duke. How long he remained here is not known, but it is certain that he afterwards returned to the Cloister of Oliva, near Dantzig, where he appears to have prepared his plans for a mission to Prussia. Before starting he was conversant with the Latin, Polish, German, and Prussian tongues. In the society of some fellow brothers, the principal of whom was Philip, he crossed the Vistula and proceeded to the Culm country, under the protection of the duke. In a very short time, several of the principal heathen nobles were baptized, and the favour with which he was generally received by the Prussians induced him to hope that, with the assistance of the Pope, he should be able to convert, not only the Masovians, but a great part of the Prussians, and he accordingly set out for Rome in the year 1209. At this time Waldemar, King of Denmark, had landed in Prussia, for the purpose of again forcing Casimir I. and Boguslaus II., sons of Boguslaus, Duke of Pomerania, who had thrown off the Danish yoke, to acknowledge his sovereignty. The Danes first overran Samland, and then the countries along the sea-board as far as the banks of the Vistula, where they captured Dantzig (Dantzic),

crossed the river, and forced the ruler of those countries, Mestwin I., to pay homage.

Waldemar now turned his steps to Pomerania, where the remaining independent princes were reduced to submission. He does not appear to have made any permanent conquests, for we are told that on Christian's return from Rome the invaders had disappeared. Christian brought with him a letter from the Pope to the Archbishop of Gnesen, in which the prelate was directed to give him every support, and also to request the neighbouring princes to afford material aid in the conversion of the heathen Prussians.

In a few years Christian converted a large number in Löbau, Pomerania, and Poland. Christian's success seems now to have excited the envy of the monks who permanently resided in the monasteries, and this petty jealousy was carried to such an extent that Pope Innocent was obliged to address letters to the abbots of the Cistercian monasteries, ordering them to receive the missionaries hospitably, and to treat them with that respect to which their great merits entitled them. In 1214 Warpoda, ruler of Lausanien, and Suavabuno, Prince of Löbau, were baptized, and this brought about the general conversion of their subjects. Accompanied by these two princes, Christian proceeded to Rome, where he was raised to the rank of bishop, and the two princes presented to him their dominions as the sphere of his bishopric. This compact was solemnly ratified,

and the princes were publicly baptized, and received the Christian names of Philip and Paul.

Christian returned to Prussia in the year 1215, but a total change had meanwhile come over his proselytes, who now regarded him as their oppressor, and the agent through whom the whole of Prussia was to be brought under the yoke of the foreigner. The conduct of the Crusaders in Liefland no doubt contributed to this hostile feeling. All the disaffected having assembled, they invaded and devastated the whole district of Culm and Löbau, and forced the converts to return to the former religion.

Duke Conrad being unable to support Christian, the latter appealed to Rome to be allowed to preach a crusade against the heathens. Unfortunately his great supporter, Innocent III., died in July, 1216, and his successor, Pope Honorius III., was busily occupied in organizing another European crusade against the Mahometans; so that it was not until March, 1217, that the Pope sent a bull to Christian with the permission to preach a crusade against the heathens of Prussia, prohibiting all those from engaging in it who had offered their services to the other expedition. All persons taking part in this crusade expiated their past sins, and received the usual indulgences. Christian, however, does not appear to have commenced preaching the crusade, as he found the people becoming more tractable; he therefore asked the Pope to send him some more missionaries. Honorius not only empowered Chris-

tian to build cathedrals, churches, and monasteries, but also to consecrate bishops and ordain priests for the new establishments. In 1218 the Prussians again overran Culm and a part of Masovia, committing frightful atrocities, in the course of which 300 cathedrals and churches were plundered and partially destroyed.

Conrad was totally unable to expel the invaders; and it was only on paying them a very large tribute that they were induced to retire. But this weakness of the Polish duke naturally produced a repetition of similar raids. The Prussians seem to have been mostly bought off by presents of fine horses and rich garments. This is illustrated by the following incident. Conrad, at a loss to satisfy the rapacity of the invaders, invited his principal nobles and their wives to a grand banquet. Here, while feasting, all their outer garments were removed by Conrad's orders, and were, together with their horses, given to the Prussians. At the request of Christian, the Pope issued a proclamation to the Christians of Europe to join a crusade, for the purpose of protecting the Catholic Church in Prussia. He also placed the Crusaders under the supreme command of Bishop Christian, who had right of excommunicating those who disobeyed his orders. At the same time the Archbishop of Gnesen was raised to the rank of Papal Legate in Prussia.

In 1219 a large number of Crusaders had already collected in Masovia and on the frontiers of Prussia,

but they do not seem to have made much progress in restoring order until the year 1222, when Henry, Duke of Silesia, Laurentius, Archbishop of Breslau, Laurentius von Lebus, and several other barons, with their retainers, came to Prussia. In a council of war it was decided, first of all, to repair and garrison all the strongholds of the province of Culm, which had been damaged by the heathen invaders, especially that of Culm, which was almost entirely rebuilt, and greatly strengthened.

In the mean time, through the influence of Duke Conrad, the bishopric was endowed with estates and castles in the province of Culm, including Grudenc, Watsko, Colm, Rysin, Glamboki, Turno, and Ploch. The sites of many of these places can be traced by their similarity to modern names, such as Thorn, Graudenz, Plock, and Culm.

The Bishop of Plotzk, who possessed considerable domains, over which he exercised spiritual and sovereign rights, ceded them to Christian, who took up his abode, along with the principal ecclesiastics, in the castle of Culm, and induced his patrons to guarantee him a permanent income from the territory acquired from the Prussians. All these privileges were sanctioned by the Pope. Many Polish nobles followed Conrad's example in endowing the bishopric. In the year 1223 the greater part of the Crusaders left Prussia. Shortly after, Swantepol, who had assisted the Order with a few troops, having recrossed the Vistula, the Prussians recom-

menced hostilities, overran the bishoprics of Culm and Masovia, advanced as far as Plotzk, stormed and plundered the city, and returned to their homes laden with booty. As usual, the Prussians soon reappeared, and in a very short time got possession of nearly all the dominions of Conrad, who was obliged to take up his abode in the stronghold of Plotzk, on the Vistula, now the only fortress in his possession.

The constant increase of the Archbishop of Riga's power, which had been mainly brought about by a body of knights called "the Brothers of the Sword," induced Christian and Conrad to attempt to create a similar military brotherhood, as a permanent defence of the country. The man who really brought this about was the Papal Legate, William of Savoy, Bishop of Modena, who had been despatched to Liefland for the purpose of settling disputes between the knights and the archbishop respecting religious affairs in that country. He had also received instructions to proceed to Culm; and it is highly probable that he had the Papal authority to found an order of knighthood. Conrad and Christian gladly accepted his overtures; and it was accordingly determined that an order similar to that of the Templars should be founded in Prussia. About the end of the year 1225 fourteen knights offered themselves as members of the new Order, and they were solemnly ordained. They were clad in a white mantle, upon which was embroidered a red

sword, together with a star, to distinguish them from the knights of the Order in Liefland. They were first called "Knights of Christ," afterwards "Brothers in the Service of Christ," afterwards "Knights of Prussia," and also sometimes "Knights of Dobrin."

This leads to the surmise that the knights who first offered themselves really belonged to the "Brothers of the Sword"; for we find that Conrad, and his brother, Duke of Silesia, requested the Grand Master of that Order to send to their assistance some knights, and that the Duke built for them the stronghold of Dobrin, in consequence of which they were afterwards known by that name. The first residence of these Crusaders was the estate of Cedlitz, in Cujavia, until the castle of Dobrin was finished. It was stipulated that all territory conquered by the knights and their allies should be equally divided between them and Duke Conrad.

This fact supports the supposition that the new knights did really belong to those of Liefland, who were greatly dissatisfied with the Archbishop of Riga for not giving them more than a third of acquired territory. In his history of the Teutonic Order, Vogt says, that in order to prevent such disputes as had arisen in Liefland, it was expressly stipulated that the new Order should have one-half of all the conquered lands; and most probably these knights represented the malcontents. As soon as the knights

got possession of Dobrin, they commenced driving the Prussians from those parts which they held in the province of Culm. For some time, by their skill and daring, they made several successful raids into Prussia, and generally returned with a considerable number of prisoners, and a large quantity of plunder.

Unfortunately, their raids were attended with wanton bloodshed and cruelty. The Prussians at last, becoming accustomed to the appearance of this small troop, collected a considerable force and advanced through Culm, for the purpose of destroying the strongholds of the knights; on hearing which their leader entreated Conrad to collect all his available forces, and effect a junction with them. This Conrad did, and advanced against the Prussians, who were busily engaged in devastating the district of Culm. The two armies met in the vicinity of the spot on which Strasbourg was afterwards erected. Conrad appears to have entrusted the command of the army to the knights. The battle lasted for two days; and the Duke of Masovia, fearing the result, fled, and was followed by his entire army. Only five knights managed to find their way back to Dobrin, the rest having been killed. Here they were besieged by a large body of Prussians. The bravery of the knights enabled them to hold out until the greater part of their adversaries had retired. These knights appear afterwards to have taken up their residence in Pomerania, where they were pro-

tected by Duke Swantepol, from whom they received great privileges.

A portion of Pomerania which had become separated from Poland, had gained its independence by taking advantage of the constant disorders and contentions by which Poland was distracted. The rulers of the country, who were called dukes, exercised almost sovereign power. Duke Subislaus had embraced Christianity and founded the cloister of Oliva. His two sons, Sambor and Mestwin, followed in their father's footsteps, and about the year 1178 enlarged the cloister and granted it several privileges and endowments. The whole family appear to have been of a pious turn of mind, and to have fostered religious institutions.

Duke Sambor, who succeeded his father Subislaus, ruled nearly thirty years, and died in 1207. During his long reign Pomerania enjoyed much prosperity, and made a great advance in civilization. He was succeeded by his son, called Subislaus II., although his own brother was still living. We may hence infer that the succession was hereditary, and in the direct line from father to son. Christianity also must have by this time made great progress in the country, for we are told that churches already existed in several towns, such as Lubissow, Wissegrod, and Schwetz.

On the death of Mestwin, Pomerania was divided among his sons, Swantepol, Sambor, Ratibor, and

Wratislaus. In accordance with his father's directions, the eldest son, Swantepol, exercised a sort of guardianship over his younger brothers, and as he virtually governed during their minority, he is often spoken of as the "Duke of Pomerania," although, properly speaking, he was only Duke of the eastern portion of Pomerania. As Swantepol made Dantzic his capital, he is also called the Duke of Dantzic, and occasionally simply Swantepol of Dantzic. His first exploit was to deliver Pomerania from the Danish yoke; we next hear of him as assisting the knights in their crusade against the heathens in the year 1222 or 1223. In the following year the Prussians took their revenge; for on the return of the knights to Germany, they overran a great portion of Pomerania, advancing even to the gates of Dantzic, and destroying everything by fire and sword. They even penetrated into the monastery of Oliva and murdered the priests.

It was about this time that Swantepol offered an asylum to the Knights of Dobrin, by whose assistance he hoped to chastise the heathens. The heathens had now been so successful that the Duke of Masovia and Bishop Christian began to fear that the country would be subjugated by them unless they could collect an army sufficient to withstand the Prussians. At this crisis the bishop bethought himself of a new scheme. During his residence in Italy he had made the acquaintance of

Hermann von Salza, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, who had distinguished himself by his bravery and military exploits. With the willing consent of Duke Conrad, Bishop Christian appealed to him to deliver the kingdom of Masovia from its present critical condition.

As the Danes appear to have settled in Prussia at a very early date, we here give some account of their earliest immigrations.

The fall of Rome occasioned great changes in the north and south of Europe, brought about by the migrations of different races. For example, we find that a large number of Goths migrated from the Black Sea to the coasts of Scandinavia, and a large portion of the Herulians, who were driven from their settlements on the Danube by the Longobardi, gradually advanced northwards through the Sclavic nations, and ultimately settled between the Elbe and the Oder. It would seem that most of these tribes at a very early period had become tributary to Denmark, but having attempted to throw off the Danish yoke, Starkadder, a Scandinavian hero, the Hercules of the North, was despatched by King Frode IV. of Denmark to reduce them again to submission. He first proceeded to Russia, where he formed an alliance with a Sclave prince, and in a very short time defeated the armies of Courland, Samogitia, and Semgallia. He appears also to have undertaken at a later period an expedition against Russia, where he defeated Wisinn, and was

successful in his campaign in Poland against Wasce.

King Frode also rendered himself celebrated by his naval expeditions on the Baltic. We are told that, in a great battle on the island of Jutland, seven Sclave kings were killed. What the Scandinavians called the Austur-Rike, no doubt included Estland, Lettland, Courland, Semgallia, Samogitia, and Samland, as also the whole of Prussia as far as the Vistula, as it would seem that most of the tribes residing on the sea-board of the Baltic had become tributary to Denmark through the Danish piratical expeditions.*

It was about the middle or end of the fifth century that the Scandinavian sea-kings first visited Prussia. The first expedition was under Jarmerick, King of Halland, who had already been engaged in an expedition against the Sclaves in Pomerania, in which he was taken prisoner. Having escaped from his captors, he joined Helge, the King of Denmark, in another expedition against them. Being successful, he avenged himself by fastening forty captives to as many wolves, and letting them loose into the forest, where the unhappy prisoners died a miserable death. Jarmerick then advanced into Prussia, reduced Samland, Courland, and all the country on the east coast of the Baltic.

The first permanent Danish settlement on a

* See Appendix A.

large scale appears to have taken place in the middle of the ninth century, in the reign of King Lothekont, son of Eric Barn, when a large number of Scandinavians left their country and landed on the South Baltic coast, and after subjugating several tribes they appear to have formed a colony, and kept up a connexion with their native country. Settlements of Danes seem to have existed from the mouth of the Vistula, along the sea-coast, as far as Mecklenburg.

These settlements enabled Gorm, a Danish chief, to subdue a large portion of the territory of the Wends; and it was only through the exertions of Henry I., Emperor of Germany, that he had to forego further conquests. He was succeeded by his son, Harold II., in the year 935. This monarch had the same military thirst for glory as his father, and in a very short time he conquered a large part of the Sclavic territory, and his son, Haquim, undertook an expedition against Samland. The inhabitants offered a most determined resistance, and in a pitched battle which was fought the carnage was so great that the Danes, greatly reduced in numbers, attempted to betake themselves to their ships, but their courageous leader, without hesitation, had the entire fleet destroyed by fire. His soldiers, having no alternative but to fall in battle or surrender, renewed the combat with such fury that their numerous foes were totally defeated and obliged to accept any terms. Most of the fighting

men were killed, and their wives and daughters forced to wed their victors. The colony seems to have extended over the greater part of West Samland, in which was situated the sacred Romowe. By degrees the various chieftains became the feudal lords of the different districts, and the original inhabitants were reduced to a spirit of serfdom. At the time of the first appearance of the Teutonic Order in this country, the nobles went by the name of "Old Withings," either derived from the people, Wides or Wends, or from the appellation given to old Scandinavian pirates. This Danish colony appears to have been independent of the mother country.

We now proceed to narrate how the Germans came to settle in Liefland (Livonia).

In the year 1158 a few merchants of Bremen began to trade with the ports on the Gulf of Riga. At first they received a very inhospitable reception from the natives, who looked upon them as Danish pirates; and when they attempted to land on the coast of Liefland they met with armed resistance from the inhabitants, who were, however, obliged to yield to the superior military skill of their opponents and to sue for peace, gladly accepting foreign merchandise in exchange for native produce. From this time the trade between Bremen and Liefland gradually increased; so much so, that even Russians living inland brought their produce to Riga to be sold to the Germans. These commercial relations

continued upwards of twenty years before any efforts were made to preach the Gospel to the heathens of Liefland. An Augustine monk, named Meinhard, a man advanced in years, but full of the fire and energy of youth, first undertook the mission of converting the natives to Christianity. He set sail as a passenger in a merchant's vessel, and, on his arrival on the banks of the Duna, solicited from the native ruler, Wladimir, permission to preach the Gospel. This was readily granted, and Meinhard forthwith commenced his labours with such zeal and earnestness that a great number embraced Christianity. A native prince, named Kaupo, was baptized with the whole of his friends and retainers, and his example was followed by many of the lower classes. In the following winter, however, a great body of Lithuanians, Russians, and other heathen tribes, made an inroad into Liefland to check the spread of this new religion, which threatened to interfere with their idol-worship. Meinhard, strong in faith, placed himself at the head of the newly converted Lieflanders, and by his enthusiastic spirit so encouraged his followers that they repulsed the invaders and forced them to seek safety in flight. This first success had a wonderful effect on the minds of the natives, who, following Meinhard's advice, set to work to construct a few strongholds to enable them to resist future incursions. In 1191, Meinhard, accompanied by Kaupo, undertook a journey

to Rome, to relate to the Pope the successful result of his efforts, and he was then created by the Pope bishop of the newly-established Church in Liefland. On his return to his see, Meinhard continued his labours in spite of increasing difficulties. On his death, in 1196, the Archbishop of Bremen appointed as his successor Berthold, Abbot of the Cistercian Monastery of Lucca in Lower Saxony, a man of high reputation for learning and piety. Quitting his cloister with reluctance, Berthold was consecrated at Bremen, and thence proceeded to his see.

On his arrival in Liefland, he invited to his residence heathens as well as converts, and tried to gain their esteem and confidence. In this he was but partially successful, for after some time a hostile party was formed among the heathens, who resolved to murder him. Berthold saved himself from an untimely fate by escaping to Gothland, and thence to Germany, where, by the advice and encouragement of the Pope, he succeeded in enlisting the sympathy and aid of armed Crusaders in Saxony, Westphalia, and other parts, to restore him to his see by force of arms. With these Berthold proceeded to Liefland. Several engagements took place between the heathens and the Crusaders, in one of which the bishop himself was killed. The Germans avenged the death of Berthold by a wholesale massacre of heathens, who were glad to sue for peace and forgiveness upon any terms, a

great many offering to be baptized and to receive a new bishop. The Crusaders, trusting in the sincerity of these professions, forthwith returned home, leaving behind only a few Christian priests and a trading vessel.

In a short time the heathen party again prevailed, and determined to assassinate the priests and throw off entirely the yoke of Christianity. The priests, warned in time, escaped to Germany, and the few converts who remained took refuge in the castle of Ykeskola. As soon as the news reached the Archbishop of Bremen, he determined to select a man of great energy and resolution to occupy the vacant see, and in selecting Albert of Apeldern for this dangerous post he found a man possessed of all the necessary qualifications.

After his consecration, Albert made preparations for a new crusade against Liefland. Being of a noble family, he soon enlisted the aid of several nobles and princes. He also received pecuniary assistance from the King of Denmark and several archbishops. In the year 1199, Albert and the Crusaders proceeded in twenty-three ships towards the Duna. Landing safely, they hastened to the relief of the castle of Ykeskola, where the Christian converts had taken refuge. The Crusaders raised the siege, and began to devastate the surrounding country. The heathens, finding it impossible to withstand the Christians, made overtures for peace, and offered thirty youths of the noblest families as

hostages. Bishop Albert agreed to this, and for further security proceeded to build a castle and town on the hill of Riga, at the mouth of the Duna. The bishop soon found that it was necessary to adopt some plan to secure the Christians from future attacks of the heathens. The Crusaders who had assisted him so far naturally returned home after a time. Bishop Albert now adopted a plan to secure a sufficient number of defenders. He resolved to establish a new Order of knighthood for the extension of Christianity, and to protect the lands thus acquired against the heathens. He proposed to distribute portions of the conquered country among the bravest of the knights, and so to secure a permanent army of defence. In 1199, Bishop Albert returned to Germany to carry out his plan, which had already received the sanction of Pope Innocent III. He was joined by two influential knights, Daniel Bannerow and Conrad von Meyendorf, to whom he gave over the castles of Ykeskola and Leuewarden.

By the advice of the Pope, Bishop Albert established his new order on the principles of the Knights Templars, and gave them the distinctive name of "*Fratres Militiæ Christi*" ("The Order of Brothers in the Service of Christ"). The distinctive mark of the Order was a sword as well as a cross, so that this Order was also called the "Sword-brothers," or "Sword-bearers." They were to be under the control of the bishop of the

country, and were to receive for their support one-third of acquired territory. In a very short time their number increased considerably. The power and extension of the new Order soon excited the envy and fear of the Christian Prince of Polotzk, and he assisted the Lieflanders in several attempts which they again made to expel the Christians from the country. Albert paid a visit to Germany yearly, partly to accompany some of the knights on their way home, and partly to raise fresh recruits for his new Order, as he had now to encounter not only the opposition of his neighbour, Prince Polotzk, but also the increasing hostility of the native heathen princes, who feared the loss of their power as well as the destruction of their idol worship. The strife between the heathens and Christians now became more and more bitter, resulting in frequent encounters and ending in bloodshed.

Unfortunately another dispute of a different character tended to check the progress of the Christians in Liefland. German warriors who had distinguished themselves in military exploits gained admission into the Order, and thus acquired greater influence. Having borne the brunt of the war with the heathens, they now desired to have a share of the profit, and accordingly, in 1206, made a formal demand of Bishop Albert "for one-third of the whole province of Liefland, as also one-third of all the lands which they should assist in conquering here-

after." The bishop was willing to concede a third of the territory already conquered, but refused to make any condition as to future conquests. As the knights continued to urge their claim, and the bishop remained inflexible, the dispute was referred by common consent to the Pope, who decided in favour of the bishop. Accordingly the knights proceeded to divide Liefland. The bishop chose the country of Thoreida as his share, and the knights the district of Saccalanien, on this side of the river Goiwa, and appointed Binno, a man of great experience, as the Master, who resided occasionally at Wenden, but more frequently at Riga.

Binno did not long survive his appointment, and his violent and premature death shows that the embers of discord still smouldered. The death of Binno arose in the following manner. A knight, named Wigbert, a partisan of the bishop, having committed an act of insubordination, escaped to Wenden, but was arrested and imprisoned by the Comthur. After some time the imprisoned knight begged to be allowed to go to Riga, to make his submission to the Master Binno. The Comthur, believing his professions of contrition, allowed him to go to Riga. Here he soon found an opportunity to gratify his desire for revenge. On a certain festival day, while the other knights were going to prayers, he besought Binno, and a brother named Johannes, to retire with him to a private apartment, as he had some secret to communicate.

On their entering the apartment, the traitor felled Binno to the ground with the stroke of an axe; he then killed his attendant, and effected his escape. As soon as the knights heard of the dreadful tragedy, they pursued the murderer, whom they overtook and executed on the spot. On the death of Binno, who was respected by his friends and feared by his enemies, the Order assembled, and chose for Master the knight Bolquin, a brave and honest soldier, who had also a reputation for piety and generosity.

On the appointment of Bolquin, the dispute between the Order and the bishop revived, but in 1210 several knights repaired to Rome to Pope Innocent III., who received them very hospitably and granted all their demands, on condition of their acknowledging the bishop's supremacy. On his next visit to Germany Bishop Albert made great efforts to enlist fresh soldiers for another expedition into Liefland. He succeeded in persuading the Bishops of Ratzeburg, Verden, and Paderborn to accompany him, and also several German warriors, among whom were Helmold von Plesse and Bernhard von Lippe, formerly generals in the army of Henry the Lion.

Being thus supported by a strong force, the bishop proceeded to reduce to submission the heathens of Estland, and appointed Dietrich, Abbot of Dunamunde, as first bishop of the conquered country. Bishop Albert having succeeded in establishing his

authority by force of arms, now exerted himself to conciliate his opponents by friendly means. He reduced the amount of tribute demanded from the Lieflanders, and made a treaty with the Prince of Polotzk, according to which the latter engaged to renounce his alliance with the heathens, and to assist the Order in their contests with their enemies. This happened in the beginning of the year 1211; about which time the Emperor took the Order under his special protection.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1220—1230.

Condition of Masovia—Attempt of Bishop Christian to Organize a Crusade—The Prussians invade Masovia (1224)—The Polish Landtag resolves to Invite the Assistance of the Teutonic Order—The Origin of the Three Orders, the "Hospitallers," the "Templars," and the "Teutonic Knights"—Henry Walput von Bassenheim, first Grand Master of the "Teutonic Order" (1191)—Exploits of the Knights in Palestine—Otto von Kerpen becomes Grand Master (1200)—Hermann Barth elected Grand Master (1206)—Hermann von Salza elected Grand Master (1210)—Von Salza's Character and Career—Invitation of Conrad, Duke of Masovia, accepted—Salza despatches Hermann Balk the Deutschmaster to Masovia—The Teutonic Knights receive possession of Culm from Conrad (1228)—Fresh Accession of Territory and Revenue by the Order—Appeal of Hermann Balk to the Pope for the Organization of a Crusade against the Prussians.

THE defeat of the Knights of Dobrin left Conrad completely at the mercy of the Prussians, who now overran the provinces of Culm, Massan, and Löbau, and even commenced to devastate the whole country as far as the frontiers of Poland, destroying whatever they could not carry off with them.

The only help which the Duke of Masovia could effect was from the army of Crusaders which Bishop Christian was collecting. These soldiers appear to have consisted of the refuse of society, who came either for plunder, or to obtain dispensation for the acts of unbridled licence which they had formerly committed. For several years numbers of Bohemians, Hungarians, Moravians, Pomeranians, and Transylvanians flocked into Masovia; and the Duke of Silesia as well as the Bishops of Breslau and Lebus joined the crusade. At first the Crusaders appear to have been generally successful, and Conrad, in return for the assistance which Bishop Christian had afforded him, richly endowed the see at the expense of the heathen Prussians.

Duke Henry of Silesia and the better part of the Crusaders soon became disgusted at the rapacity of the ecclesiastics, who attempted to obtain possession of all the conquered territory. They consequently left the country, and their example was followed in a very short time by the rest of the army.

In the year 1224 the Prussians, finding that the Crusaders had left, sallied forth from the forests and morasses in which they had taken refuge, and made a general attack on Culm and the surrounding provinces. They even advanced to Plotzk, the capital of Masovia. The Landtag which was now summoned unanimously sanctioned Christian's pro-

posal to invite the Knights of the Teutonic Order to assist them in expelling the heathens and annexing Prussia to Masovia.

Before proceeding further it is advisable to give a short account of the origin of the different orders of knights, but more especially of the Teutonic Order.

The Holy Land had been upwards of four centuries in the hands of the Turks, who continually ill-treated the Christian pilgrims that yearly repaired to the Holy Sepulchre. About the middle of the eleventh century some Italian merchants undertook to provide an asylum for the European pilgrims in the city of Jerusalem itself, and, with the permission of the Egyptian Chalif, built a cloister, dedicated to the Holy Virgin, within a stone's throw of the Holy Sepulchre. In the chapel attached to it, divine service was performed in the Latin language. Near the convent they built also two houses for the reception of pilgrims in distress or sickness. These were supported by alms collected in Italy. The persons who devoted themselves to the service of the poor and sick pilgrims as Hospitallers became gradually organized and known as the Order of "Hospitallers of St. John." In the year 1113, this Order received certain endowments and privileges from the Pope Paschal II., especially the right of electing their own Master. Accordingly in the year 1118 the Hospitallers met and elected to that office Raymond Dupuy, a man of illustrious

family. Raymond made several additions to the duties and functions of the Order, and he more especially enforced the obligation to take up arms for the defence of the holy shrine.

About the same time nine brave and bold knights from France, under the leadership of Hugues de Paganes and Geoffroy de St. Omer, formed a new religious and military knighthood, and solemnly undertook not only to take care of the poor and sick, but also to fight as soldiers of Christ. Baldwin II. assisted in organizing and supporting this new Order, and granted to it a portion of his palace on the eastern side of Solomon's Temple. Hence they assumed the name of the "Brothers of the Knighthood of the Temple," afterwards that of "Templars."

Two members of the new Order proceeded to Europe to request the celebrated Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux to draw up a code regulating their future organization as a religious and military order. In 1128, at the Council of Troyes, they received the formal sanction of the Pope and a white robe as the distinctive mark of the Order. Subsequently Pope Eugenius added a white mantle charged with a red cross. The Templars made rapid strides, and in a very short time outstripped in wealth, influence, and reputation the Order of Hospitallers.

One of the principal causes of the immense loss of life amongst the pilgrims was the utter want of

accommodation, both in the towns and on the roads leading to the holy places. In course of time, caravansaries were formed along the whole route leading to Jerusalem; but it soon became apparent that, unless the caravansaries were properly protected, they only served as a tempting prize to the Mussulman horsemen, and this service the Templars and the Knights of St. John undertook. As the members of these two orders, however, consisted mostly of Frenchmen, Italians, and Spaniards, very little provision was made for the benefit of German pilgrims who resorted to the Holy Land. To obviate this, in the year 1128, a pious German, who lived with his family in Jerusalem, touched with pity at the distress endured by his countrymen, resolved to build a hospital or house of refuge exclusively for German pilgrims. This establishment was soon endowed by other benevolent Germans, and obtained the patronage of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, besides which it had a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Thus was laid the foundation-stone of the German or Teutonic Order. Two rich pilgrims from Bremen and Lubeck, who had greatly distinguished themselves by the bravery and devotion which they displayed in attending the sick and wounded at the siege of Acre in 1190, joined the establishment, and induced other opulent German merchants to assist them in their labours.

The German princes and nobles who were with

the Christian army now determined to found a regular German Order, on a similar footing to that of the Order of the Knights of St. John and the Templars. Duke Frederick of Suabia appears to have been the originator, and, together with his brother the Emperor Henry VI. of Germany, applied to the Pope to authorize the organization and formation of a new Order in 1191. On the 6th of February, 1191, the German Order received the Papal sanction, and was placed under the rule of St. Augustine. Pope Clement III. did not live to see the important part which the German Order soon took in the Crusades, for he died a short time after. Unfortunately, Duke Frederick of Suabia, the Emperor's brother, died in the East early in the year. The King of Jerusalem having assembled all the German princes and ecclesiastics, and those who desired to be admitted to the Order, the candidates, after having done homage to the king, were each knighted in turn. The first knight was dubbed by the king, and the rest, thirty-nine in number, by the princes. They all then received the Sacrament from the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who, after having pronounced the benediction, enrobed each with a white cloak charged with a simple black cross, and informed them that from henceforth they and the Church at Jerusalem were under the special protection of St. Peter.

After these ceremonies, the knights proceeded to elect one from amongst them who should act as

Superior or Grand Master. Their choice fell upon Henry Walput von Bassenheim, a native of the Rhine province, who had already greatly distinguished himself, not only by his valour, but also by the purity of his morals. His first act was to organize a regular medical staff for the care of the sick and wounded, in the hospital which Duke Frederick's chaplain had caused to be erected for the German Knights.

At the period of which we are now speaking, the three military orders, the Templars, the Hospitallers of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, were, with a large body of Crusaders, engaged in besieging the city of Acre. In the first month of their existence the Order gave full proof of the spirit which inspired them; for, through the disunion which prevailed between Guy de Lusignan and young Conrad, there was no uniform plan of operations. The garrison offered a most obstinate resistance, making very frequent sorties from the town, and inflicting serious losses on the Crusaders. This was not all, for the camp was constantly attacked by the wandering hordes of infidel horsemen; and it was only by the joint action of the three orders that the Christians continued to hold their ground.

After a tedious siege of two years, the besiegers were reinforced and encouraged by the arrival of a fleet under the command of Philip II., King of France, who had been detained at Messina in consequence of a dispute with Richard Cœur de Lion,

King of England, who had broken off his match with Philip's sister. Prior to the arrival of the king, the German Order lost several distinguished knights, amongst others the Landgrave Louis of Thuringia, Count Poppo von Henneberg, and Knight Adalbert. The German Crusaders also lost several of their principal ecclesiastics. The Christain army was shortly after joined by Duke Leopold of Austria and King Richard with a fleet of twenty-five ships. Richard had brought with him abundance of provisions, of which there was a great scarcity in the Christian camp. The presence of these three sovereigns had the most encouraging effect on the besiegers, who now redoubled their efforts, as the monarchs were in the habit of bestowing presents on those who distinguished themselves by daring feats of arms. The garrison of Acre despairing of the siege being raised, and being greatly in want of water and provisions, surrendered on the 12th of July, 1191.

Unfortunately the triumph of the Christians was disgraced by the disputes between the monarchs as to the share of the booty; but the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights held aloof from these transactions. Seeing that there was little or no chance of the conquest of Jerusalem, where the Order had its first establishment, the Grand Master determined for the present to make Acre the head-quarters of the Order, and accordingly purchased a large garden in the vicinity of the tower of St. Nicholas and the

cloister of St. Lazarus, on which he built a hospital, a chapel, and several tenements as a residence for the knights. The garden was surrounded by a strong wall and protected by a tower, which formed in itself the entrance. The establishment was designated the German House, or the Hospital of the German Order. As soon as the chapel was completed, the remains of the founder of the Order, Duke Frederick of Suabia, were solemnly interred in it. With the accession of Cardinal Hyacinth, in 1191, to the Papal dignity, under the title of Celestine III., commenced a fresh era of prosperity to the German Order.

The Pope not only reconfirmed the privileges conceded to the Order by his predecessor, but also issued a bull taking it under his special protection. He sanctioned the adoption of the white mantle charged with a black cross, and directed that their banner also should be emblazonedwith a white shield charged with a black cross; and he further decreed that the German Order should share all the rights and privileges which had been hitherto enjoyed by the orders of Templars and the Knights of St. John. He also prescribed certain statutes, according to which only Germans by birth could be admitted into the Order, and by which the military discipline of the Knights of St. John was enforced. Pope Celestine now expressed a wish that the German Order should continue to maintain the hospital at Jerusalem; and accordingly the Grand Master, no

doubt with the permission of the Sultan Saladin, sent a number of knights to Jerusalem to tend the poor and sick pilgrims. About this period we find that a certain number of priests entered the service of the Order and discharged priestly functions; but it was not till many years after that the Order received permission to admit priests into the brotherhood. At first the maintenance of the sick and wounded depended upon the alms which the knights could collect. Some lands had been given to the Order by Duke Frederick of Suabia for this charitable object, but on the expulsion by Henry VI. of the monks of the Cistercian cloister of the Holy Trinity at Palermo, who had supported his rival Tancred, all their property was confiscated and handed over to the German Order in August, 1197. This acquisition laid the foundation of their temporal power and influence in Europe.

After the departure of Philip Augustus from Palestine a quarrel arose between King Richard and Duke Leopold, who was so incensed at the overbearing pride of the English king, that he also returned home with all his German followers. The Teutonic Knights sympathized to such an extent with the Duke, that they declined to give any further assistance, and the King of England was eventually compelled, after having captured Jaffa and several other places, to conclude a truce for three years. Saladin died in the same year, and his crown was disputed by

his sons. This strife prevented any common action on the part of the Mussulmans against the Crusaders.

In 1196 a fresh expedition of Crusaders landed at Acre, accompanied by the leading German princes and ecclesiastics. Lubeck contributed a contingent of 400 well-equipped soldiers. The appearance of the Germans excited the jealousy of the two orders. As the Germans formed the most numerous portion of the Christian army, they naturally took the lead in the campaign. The Teutonic Knights received many possessions in Syria in recognition of their bravery. In most of these they built hospitals and accommodation for the pilgrims. The death of the Emperor Henry VI. caused the mass of the Crusaders to return home. The Grand Master, Von Bassenheim, did not long survive his benefactor, and died in October, 1200, after having fulfilled the duties of Grand Master for the period of eleven years. He was buried in the church of the Order at Acre, and was succeeded by Otto von Kerpen, one of the forty original knights, who is said to have been a native of Bremen. Although advanced in years, hə possessed all the energy of manhood. During his six years of office he was unremitting in strengthening the ties of the brotherhood for the great events which were now taking place in the Byzantine Empire prevented any fresh crusade being undertaken, and the Teutonic Order had to content itself

with increasing the strength of the places which it held.

Otto von Kerpen was the first who introduced into the Order an official seal, which represented the Virgin Mary sitting on an ass with the infant Jesus in her arms, and Joseph leading the animal, conducted by a guiding star, as when on his flight to Egypt. For the reasons already stated, Von Kerpen had little or no opportunity of distinguishing himself. He died in 1206, and was buried at Acre, by the side of his predecessor.

On the death of Otto von Kerpen the knights assembled and elected as their Grand Master Hermann Barth, who was descended from a noble Bavarian family.

It is reported that he had formerly been a principal officer at the court of the Queen of Denmark at Lubeck; and the following incident is said to have been the cause of his joining the Order:—One day, during a very severe winter, he was solicited for alms by a poor woman and child, to whom he replied in these unfeeling words,—"On foreign dogs and children food and attention are thrown away." Shortly afterwards the poor woman and child were found frozen dead in the streets. On this coming to his knowledge his conscience was smitten, and having, moreover, been reminded in a dream of his cruelty, he resolved to do penance by making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he distinguished himself by his bravery on the field

of battle, by his acts of charity, and his deep sympathy with the poor and distressed. He was therefore selected as Grand Master. At this time the whole of Germany was distracted by civil war, caused by the rivalry between Otho of Brunswick and Philip of Suabia for the throne of Henry VI. This prevented an increase in the numbers of the Order, but the brotherhood received valuable gifts from the illustrious Count Frederick of Siegenheim, from the Count and Countess Von Falkenstein, and the Count of Wiebach, who in 1207 presented to the Order the church of Reichenbach. This is an evidence that the knights now had friends in various parts of Europe.

About this time important events were taking place in the East, which developed the military character of the various orders. In a dispute between the King of Armenia and Count Raymond of Tripolis for the possession of the city of Antioch, to which both laid claim, the Templars and the inhabitants of Antioch supported Count Raymond, whereas the German Order and the Knights of St. John united their forces with the army of the King of Armenia.

While the King of Armenia was engaged in negotiations with the Pope, for the purpose of inducing the Templars to break off their alliance with his opponent, the Sultan of Iconium, an ally of Count Raymond, invaded and devastated Armenia. The king, assisted by the German Knights, imme-

diately marched against the invaders and totally defeated them, and few of the fugitives escaped. The king showed his gratitude to his German allies by presenting the city of Saleph and outlying districts to the Knights of St. John, and the castle of Amuda, in Armenia, to the German Order. On this gift being sanctioned by Pope Innocent III., the Grand Master appointed a Comthur as governor of the castle. There were several reasons for the hostility of the German Order to the Templars. The Teutonic Knights had always maintained friendly relations with the Knights of St. John, the old rivals of the Templars. Moreover, there had always been a rivalry between the Templars and the German Order, from the latter having adopted the white mantle and black cross, the distinctive mark of the Templars. Of this the Templars subsequently complained to Pope Innocent. The Pope, who had constantly befriended and specially protected the German Order, pretended not to understand the exact nature of the complaint, and requested the Patriarch of Jerusalem to investigate the matter. The Patriarch reported that the knights were fully entitled to wear the white mantle, as it had been sanctioned by the previous Pontiffs; but he recommended, at the same time, that they should, to avoid future disputes, adopt some other kind of cloth, so as to distinguish them from the Templars. This the Pope confirmed, and so the matter was settled. The Grand Master, who

had received a severe wound in the battle of Iconium, did not long survive, and died on the 20th of March, 1210, and was buried in the church belonging to the order at Acre, next to his predecessor.

It now became apparent to the knights that unless they elected some German nobleman, who occupied a distinguished position in Germany, the Order could never receive a sufficient number of recruits. In this they were only following the example of the other military and religious orders, who could always count on reinforcements if the Grand Master held a high position in his own country.

Hermann von Salza, who succeeded Barth, possessed all the qualifications for the post of Grand Master; for he was a knight of high character and noble parentage, and his family had for many years resided in Thuringia, where they were highly respected.

In the year 1196 young Salza, excited by the exploits of the Crusaders, accompanied Count Hermann of Thuringia to the Holy Land, and became enrolled in the German Order. He soon distinguished himself by his bravery, and was promoted to the rank of marshal. His elevation to the rank of Grand Master marked a new epoch in the history of the Order. He was a man endowed by nature with excellent qualities of mind and heart, and his knowledge had been matured by a long and varied experience in the ways of the world. He had therefore little difficulty in gaining the confidence

of both the Pope and the Emperor, as well as of other royal princes. On his accession to his high dignity, he is said to have expressed the following sentiment, "that he would willingly lose one eye if the Order could thereby gain ten bold and valiant knights." This need not be understood literally, although some have hence inferred that the members of the Order had been greatly reduced in number by their late campaigns.

The state of Germany at this time was by no means favourable to the development of the Order. The civil war which had so long distracted Germany was now terminated by the election of Otho IV., in 1208, through the murder of Philip of Suabia. But party feeling still ran high, the wounds caused by the civil war had not yet had time to heal, and the new Emperor, who was engaged in a dispute with the Pope, had no time to turn his attention to affairs in the East. In such an unsettled state of things, knights in search of military glory preferred to join the crusade preached about this time against the Albigenses and the heathens of Liefland and North Prussia. Yet even at this period, notwithstanding all discouragements, the Order received various accessions in different parts of Europe.

In 1210, Otto von Galprunne presented them with Hengelspiegel, in Austria, while Frederick II., as King of Sicily, gave them Tussano, near Salerno. Even ten years before the accession of Hermann

von Salza, the knights of the Order had established a hospital at Halle, on the Saale, on a spot of ground presented to them by the Archbishop of Magdeburg. This hospital, afterwards called the German House at Halle, was gradually enlarged by the addition of a chapel and the surrounding lands, which were either purchased or received as gifts from the owners.

A similar establishment had long existed at Coblenz, but had fallen into decay. At the suggestion of Dietrich, Archbishop of Treves, this was given over to the Order, and reorganized for the benefit of the sick and needy. The Order also received another similar grant of the castle of Freisach and its adjoining lands, at the suggestion of the Chapter and Archbishop of Salzburg.

Whilst the Order was thus developing itself in Europe, matters in the East showed no change until John of Brienne arrived in Asia with a troop of 300 armed soldiers, and was crowned king. The infidels, however, under Prince Corradin, had acquired fresh courage, and whilst John was celebrating his coronation at Tyre, the Turks advanced in great force against Acre, the chief citadel of the Christians, whose capture appeared imminent unless a strong force from Europe should come to its relief.

Pope Innocent III., on hearing of the sad state of things in the East, devoted all his energies to exciting the Christians to a new crusade. His zeal

and enthusiasm were also shared by the Emperor Otho IV., who now took the Teutonic Knights under his special protection, conferred upon them important and substantial privileges, and decreed that a heavy fine should be inflicted on any one who should in any way do injury or injustice to the Order.

In thus protecting the Order the Emperor was, no doubt, influenced by his own personal interest, as he hoped thereby to gain over their good will and support in case of need. The Order likewise found a patron and supporter in the person of his successor, Frederick II., who, in the year 1214, not only confirmed the privileges granted to it by his predecessor, but further made the Grand Master a member of his court, with the right of demanding special audience with him, and decreed that all the possessions of the Order were to be considered as imperial fiefs. Frederick II. contributed in various ways to the success and advancement of the Order, as he had immediately after his coronation bound himself to take part in the crusades for the recovery of the Holy Land.

Pope Innocent III. was not less zealous in supporting the Teutonic Knights. Like his predecessor, Pope Celestine III., he took them under his apostolic protection, granted them further privileges and endowments, issued a decree strictly forbidding any one to disturb their internal arrangements, and further guaranteed to allow them

perfect freedom in the choice of their Grand Master.

In 1215, the Pope convoked a grand Council in Rome to organize a fresh expedition to the East. In November the Council was opened, and among those represented were the Patriarch and King of Jerusalem and the three orders of knights. The Pope devoted his energies to bring about this new crusade, but when all preparations were nearly completed, he was suddenly overtaken by death in the year 1216. His successor, Honorius III., took up the project with the same zeal. Within a few months of his consecration he issued a bull confirming the decrees of his predecessors, Celestine and Innocent III., with respect to the Order, and allowed the knights to choose their own Grand Master, with the proviso that he must have a reputation for piety as well as valour. He also decreed that none of the rules of the Order should be changed, except by the unanimous voice of the members, and also that no knight should be permitted to retire from the brotherhood after having once been admitted. Unfortunately, a war had broken out in Europe between the Emperor Otho, his rival, Frederick II., and Philip, King of France, which prevented these monarchs from taking part in the expedition.

In this crisis, however, Andreas II., King of Hungary, in accordance with a paternal vow, offered to take command of the new crusade.

For the purpose of raising the necessary funds, he sold the superfluous church treasures, as also the celebrated crown of the first Queen of Hungary. With these funds he was able, on assuming the command, to raise 10,000 men for the expedition. He was accompanied by Duke Leopold of Austria, Otto von Meran, the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Bamberg, Utrecht, Minster, &c. The Teutonic Knights played an important part in this expedition. Most of the princes who shared in it were among their friends and supporters. Some years previously, King Andreas had bestowed on them a large district on the borders of Moldavia, where they were allowed to exact tithes for the support of the churches. In the autumn of 1217, the expedition under the command of King Andreas reached Acre, to the great joy of the distressed Christians in Syria. Here the Crusaders were joined by the King of Jerusalem, the Knights Templars, the Knights of St. John, and the Teutonic Knights, with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, cross in hand, at their head. The army of the Crusaders being thus reinforced marched against the Sultan Coradin, who deemed it prudent to avoid a battle, and retreated with his army as far as the sea of Galilee. The Crusaders thereupon besieged the castle of Tabor, situated on a steep rock, whence the infidels had frequently sallied and inflicted great loss on the Christians. After some fruitless

attempts to scale the heights of Tabor, the Crusaders made a last effort and succeeded in taking the citadel by storm, after a desperate struggle, in which some of the bravest knights lost their lives. They were so far successful, but, unfortunately, disunion soon broke out among the commanders, resulting in the break-up of the expedition. Whilst Andreas, King of Hungary, proceeded to Tripolis, Leopold, Duke of Austria, occupied himself in fortifying the castle of Cæsarea, and Hermann von Salza, in conjunction with the Knights Templars and many pilgrims, restored an old castle, called the "Pilgrims' Castle," situated between Cæsarea and Caiphas.

Although these castles were of great importance, and served as places of refuge and protection to the Christian pilgrims, yet much valuable time was wasted, and the great object of the expedition almost lost sight of. On the death of the King of Cyprus, King Andreas returned home, and his example was followed by the greater part of the pilgrims. The Teutonic Knights were much disappointed at this sudden collapse of the expedition, for they had lost some of their bravest knights, and the results were not at all commensurate with the sacrifices they had made. Not discouraged by disappointment, the knights, under Hermann von Salza, continued in Palestine, and in the following year it was resolved to carry the war into Egypt, and thus divide the forces of the infidels. Hermann

von Salza, in conjunction with Leopold, Duke of Austria, and the other two orders, thereupon embarked their troops and set sail for Egypt in May, 1218. In about three days they landed, and at once proceeded to besiege Fort Damietta, situated at the mouth of the Nile, and which was then the key to the kingdom of Egypt. Although in the spring of 1219 the Duke of Austria withdrew his army, the siege continued, and the Saracens maintained an obstinate resistance.

The Sultan of Egypt now sought the assistance of his brother, the Sultan of Syria, who levied an army and marched rapidly into Egypt, having first destroyed the fortifications of Jerusalem, so that his army might be reinforced by the garrison, and also to prevent the Christians from fortifying themselves in it, should they return to Palestine. The two sultans having united their forces, now advanced to raise the siege of Damietta; several battles were fought between the Christians and the Saracens, in which the knights displayed extraordinary valour, and in one engagement the marshal of the Order fell at the head of his soldiers, and many of the bravest knights shared the same fate. The Sultan, finding all his efforts to raise the siege fruitless, now made overtures for peace, and offered to deliver up the city of Jerusalem, to repair the fortifications, and to restore the true Cross that was taken at the battle of Tiberias. The King of Jerusalem and most of the Christian princes were

willing to accept these conditions, but the Papal Legate, Pelagius, who exercised great authority in the army, opposed the proposal. In a council of war the opinion of the Papal Legate prevailed, and it was determined to complete the entire conquest of Egypt, by which the fate of Jerusalem would be also determined. Shortly afterwards Damietta was taken by storm, thus ending a siege in which more than eighty thousand perished by the sword or famine. After the fall of Damietta, the Papal Legate again persisted in his plan for the subjugation of Egypt, and the princes, unable to check the enthusiasm of their victorious army, led their forces into the heart of the country.

The Sultan now opened the sluices of the Nile and overflowed the districts occupied by the Crusaders, who found themselves shut up in a small island from which there was no escape, and where starvation stared them in the face. Finding their condition hopeless, they solicited a truce for the purpose of arranging the conditions of a peace. The Sultan demanded the unconditional surrender of Damietta; that all prisoners should be restored; that there should be a cessation of hostilities for eight years, and that hostages should be given as a guarantee for the fulfilment of these conditions. The hostages chosen by the Sultan included King John, the Papal Legate, the Duke of Bavaria, the two Grand Masters of the Templars and Hospitallers as well as Hermann von Salza, Grand Master of the

Teutonic Order. The citadel of Damietta was thereupon surrendered to the Sultan, and the army of the Crusaders separated; one-half returned to Europe, while the remaining half, under the command of the King of Jerusalem and the Grand Masters of the two orders, proceeded to Acre.

Hermann von Salza, who was almost immediately liberated, having appointed the Grand Comthur as his deputy during his absence, proceeded direct from Damietta to Italy, and was amongst the first who brought the unwelcome news of this humiliating armistice to Pope Honorius III., who heard with pain and sorrow of the disaster which had befallen the Christians. The Pope now made a serious and energetic appeal to the Emperor Frederick II., to induce him to undertake a new crusade. The Emperor, who was much moved and affected by the tidings of the disastrous result of the last expedition, now resolved to fulfil his vow to undertake a crusade, and accordingly invited the Patriarch and the Grand Masters of the three Orders to deliberate as to the best means for organizing a fresh expedition. In the mean time Hermann von Salza did not neglect the interests of his own Order. Although his fixed residence was in Rome, at the Imperial Court, he made frequent journeys into Germany for the purpose of making himself minutely acquainted with the discipline and condition of all the establishments connected with the German Order.

As before mentioned, the Order had already received several accessions of domains and especial marks of favour and support from the Emperor Frederick II. The Pope was not behindhand in showing his partiality for it; and in consideration of the zeal and piety which the knights had displayed in defence of the faith, he decreed that all possessions established by the Order itself should be exempt from tithes. Moreover, in a dispute between the knights and several ecclesiastics who wished to misinterpret the meaning of this decree, the Pope himself distinctly decided in favour of the knights, threatening to excommunicate those who should interfere with their rights. The favour thus shown to the Order by the Pope excited the envy and opposition of the ecclesiastical party, who in various ways gave vent to their ill-feeling.

The hostile ecclesiastics endeavoured to prevent the Order from appointing vicars in their own churches, upon which the Grand Master submitted the question to the Pope, who decided that the Order should have complete control over the churches belonging to it; and severely reproved the ecclesiastics for conniving at offences and unjust claims against the brotherhood.

With the hope of increasing the numerical strength of the Order, Hermann von Salza greatly facilitated the admission of members to the brotherhood by publishing a manifesto, according to which any person could become a brother on his

adopting the sign of the Cross. The Pope, having seen that the success of the expeditions to the Holy Land depended in great measure upon the aid given by the knights belonging to the military orders, confirmed the Grand Master's decree in a Papal bull.

About this time Von Salza established a half-brotherhood, in imitation of the Knights Templars and the Knights of St. John, for he was a man not likely to neglect anything that could further the interests of the Order. In this he was supported by the Pope, who was equally interested in the success and development of the brotherhood. Those who were admitted as half-brothers wore the usual costume of the Order with a half cross, but they were not obliged to give up their secular employments, and were not subject to the same restrictions as the other knights. It can easily be understood that by this means the number of members of the Order was considerably increased.

In April of 1222 the project for a new crusade began to assume a practical form. The Pope had an interview at Veroli with the Emperor, who expressed himself more eager than ever to conduct the new expedition. Hermann von Salza was present on this occasion and urged the great necessity of united action, and, above all, a joint plan of operations for all the forces engaged. He attributed the failure of previous attempts to recover the Holy Land to the want of common action

which reigned in the army of the Crusaders, and to the jealousies which unfortunately existed among the Christian princes.

To prevent the repetition of these mishaps, it was resolved to arrange amicably beforehand all points of dispute between the different parties who might engage in the expedition. There had been a long standing quarrel between the Emperor and the bishops of Apulia, and in like manner between the Order and the Bishop of Brienne, and the Pope therefore empowered the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in the character of Papal Legate, to act as mediator between the disputants. Another bone of contention was the district of Burza, in Transylvania, which Andreas II., the King of Hungary, had, as before mentioned, bestowed upon the Order, and which he afterwards reclaimed; upon what pretext is not quite clear. The knights had good reason to complain of this breach of faith on the part of King Andreas, for they had established various monastic and military institutions in the district, and had at their own expense erected five fortresses to protect it from invaders. The Grand Master therefore solicited the intervention of the Pope, who succeeded in inducing the King of Hungary to restore the district to the Order, and even to make amends for his arbitrary and unjustifiable act. King Andreas not only restored the district of Burza, but granted the brotherhood several other important concessions. In 1223 the Pope convoked a great assembly

at Ferentino, at which were present the Emperor Frederick, John, King of Jerusalem, the Legate Pelagius, the Grand Masters of the Templars and the Hospitallers of St. John, as well as Hermann von Salza, Grand Master of the German Order. The Pope urged the Emperor to perform his vow to take up the Cross, and entreated the members of the council to do their utmost for the furtherance of the expedition. The Emperor, however, again pretended that troubles at home, disturbances in Italy and Sicily, prevented him from engaging in a crusade for the present, and the expedition was therefore put off until 1225.

Of all those assembled none was more eager for the crusade than Hermann von Salza, who spared no efforts for the furtherance of the undertaking. At the council he proposed a marriage between the Emperor Frederick and Jolante, daughter and heiress of the King of Jerusalem. The object of this proposal was to secure the co-operation of Frederick. Hermann von Salza managed the matter with such tact and skill that the marriage was agreed on, and the Emperor solemnly vowed to undertake the expedition to Palestine within two years. Von Salza now undertook a voyage to Asia, partly to conclude the negotiation of marriage between the Emperor and the daughter of the King of Jerusalem, and partly to make himself acquainted with the actual state of affairs in Palestine. During the time that the Grand Master was in the East,

active preparations for a new crusade were going on all over Europe. The King of Jerusalem traversed Germany, France, and Spain, in search of recruits and pecuniary aid for the enterprise. The Emperor was actively engaged in equipping a fleet; but his zeal gradually cooled down on learning that the rest of Europe was less disposed than ever to join an expedition from which nothing but barren glory was to be gained, especially after the disastrous defeat of the Christian army in Egypt. Moreover, the remnants of the last unfortunate crusade, who had returned to their homes in a miserable plight, spread the news far and wide of the real nature of the difficulties which the Christian forces had to contend with in attempting the recovery of the Holy Land. This had sobered men's minds considerably, and indisposed them towards such enterprises as that into which all Europe had once madly plunged under the preaching of Peter the Hermit.

Such was the condition of the public mind when, in March, 1224, Hermann von Salza returned from the East, and proceeded forthwith to the Pope to report to him the state of affairs in Palestine, with the view of urging the Pontiff to hasten forward the new expedition.

We now resume the thread of our narrative respecting Bishop Christian's mission to Rome. The Grand Master of the Teutonic Order had already made the acquaintance of Bishop Christian

at the Papal Court, where the bishop was seeking to enlist the sympathy of the Pontiff in his contests with the heathens. Hermann von Salza had now been upwards of sixteen years Grand Master, and by his zeal and devotion to the Order the knights had increased throughout Germany in wealth, influence, and numbers.

By the advice of the bishop, Duke Conrad of Masovia, as we have already seen, held a general council of all the nobles, prelates, and governors of his dukedom, and it was unanimously resolved to send an embassy to the Grand Master, soliciting his aid against the heathens, and offering in consideration to bestow upon the Order the whole province of Culm and a large portion on the frontiers of Prussia and Masovia. The embassy, with Bishop Christian at its head, repaired to Italy to the Grand Master. The invitation came upon him as a surprise, and filled him with perplexity. His whole heart and soul were at the time engaged in his preparations for another expedition to the East, and the final arrangements were nearly completed. Von Salza however held a general chapter of the Order, in which it was resolved to accept the invitation on receiving the imperial sanction. The Grand Master thereupon proceeded to Rimini, the then seat of the Imperial Court, and communicated to the Emperor the desire of the Order to undertake an expedition to assist the Duke of Masovia to expel the heathen

Prussians, who threatened to destroy every vestige of Christianity in the North of Europe. Von Salza pointed out to the Emperor that by the subjugation of Prussia the frontiers of the empire would be protected from the inroads of the barbarous hordes which had so often devastated Europe. The Emperor Frederick having given his consent, the Grand Master despatched an expedition in aid of the Duke of Masovia.

Long before the arrival of the Teutonic Knights, however, many portions of the outlying districts of Prussia had become Christianized. Their rulers appear to have embraced Christianity on the understanding that the Pope would allow them to absorb the territory of their heathen neighbours, and there can be but little doubt that, however sincere the knights were in their desire to propagate the Christian faith, they hoped that by so doing their wealth and power would be increased at the expense of those whom they subjugated.

The expedition having been resolved upon, Von Salza despatched one of his confidential advisers, Hermann von Balk, together with a hundred knights and retainers, to commence the undertaking. Hermann von Balk, hitherto Deutschmaster, was selected on account of his connexion with Westphalia and the Rhine, from which it was expected that recruits would be always forthcoming. He was accompanied by the knights Dietrich von Bernheim, Conrad von Tutelen, and

Henry von Berka. The Hospitaller or superintendent of the medical department was Henry von Zeitz. In 1228 the knights with their retainers reached Masovia, and Hermann Balk henceforth assumed the title of Landmaster of the Knights in Prussia. On the 23rd of April, 1228, the Order formally received, as stipulated, the possession of the province of Culm, together with the village of Orlau, in Cujavia. The Duke waived all rights or claim to these possessions in perpetuity.

Bishop Christian also renounced in favour of the Order his tithes in the district of Culm. Dobrin was still occupied by a few knights, and the Duke, for the purpose of increasing their number and eventually incorporating them with the Teutonic Order, made over to them considerable territory in the vicinity of their castle; and the new Bishop of Masovia, Gunther, gave up his right to receive tithes in their district. Finding that the castle of Vogelsang was not sufficiently large for the two orders, Balk proceeded to erect the castle of Nessau, on the left bank of the Vistula. It was scarcely finished, however, when the Prussians invaded the country; and we are told that, on being informed by a Masovian captive that the knights were warriors of God, and had been sent by the Pope to compel them to acknowledge his supremacy, they considered it advisable to return to Prussia.

In 1230, Duke Conrad bestowed upon the brothers the castle of Nessau, with four villages adjoining,

on condition of their continuing to support him in his contest with the heathens. Hermann Balk and his companions appear not to have been satisfied with the sincerity of Conrad's motives. In order to make their possessions more secure, they demanded that the Duke should give them a fresh deed of renunciation, which the Duke did in the spring of the year 1230. In this document his wife Agaphia, and his sons Boleslaus, Casimir, Semovit, and Semimisl, were co-signitaries. The limits of the ceded territory were strictly defined, and the knights were empowered to exercise sovereign rights. The Duke also undertook to defend them against any opponent in their possessions. On the other hand, the Order entered into a solemn engagement to defend the territory of the Duke and the interests of the Church, during his reign and that of his successors, without claim for any further remuneration for the services which they might be called upon to afford. The Landmaster now sought to secure by a regular arrangement the exact share which the Order would be entitled to of the plunder, captives, and territory which might be acquired in their future wars with the heathens.

To this new compact not only the Duke and his family, but the principal ecclesiastics and officials as well, were parties. It was solemnly agreed that all territory, property movable or immovable, on land or water, acquired in any way from the enemy should belong to the Order and remain in their

undisputed possession, with the power of exercising all the authority then appertaining to an independent sovereign. From this we see that Culm and all the territory which the Order afterwards acquired had no connexion whatever with the Duchy of Masovia.

Polish writers say that an arrangement was effected by which the Duke of Masovia reserved to himself one-half of all that was acquired in war from the heathens. Dlugoss observes, "Licet de facto, non de jure, cum in præjudicium Regni Poloniæ donationem ipsam Conradus dux non poterat aliquatenus fecisse."

During these negotiations, the knights used every effort to induce Bishop Christian to give them a clearer definition of the rights, privileges and territory which he had ceded to them, as the terms of the arrangement were equivocal; for it appeared as if the bishop intended to place the Order in the position of a vassal, over whom he could exercise certain feudal rights. And this view proved to be correct; for, in a meeting at which were present representatives of the Teutonic Order and the Knights of Dobrin, the bishop unmistakably gave the former to understand that his object was to obtain temporal power in the disputed territory. This want of confidence in the bishop continued until the reconciliation of the Emperor and the Pope. In the year 1231, the bishop found it necessary to conciliate the Order, and signed a new agreement, according to which the Order obtained

full possession of nearly all the territory which the bishop formerly possessed in the province of Culm.

The Bishop of Plotzk also made a similar arrangement with the Order. Up to this time the knights were compelled to act on the defensive, and to rest satisfied so long as they were able to prevent the incursions of the Prussians. But they had not forgotten to encourage the peasants to break up and bring the land into cultivation. They also exerted themselves to enforce discipline amongst the military retainers of the Duke.

But it soon became apparent that these auxiliaries would be of little or no service, if engaged in an offensive campaign. Hermann von Balk and the Duke of Masovia, therefore, communicated to the Pope the impossibility of ever converting the heathens unless the knights were reinforced by a considerable number of Crusaders, and requested Hermann von Salza, who was now in Italy, to use his influence to induce the Pope to order the preaching of a general crusade against the heathen Prussians.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1230–1235.

Hermann von Salza accompanies the Emperor Frederick to Palestine—Coronation of the Emperor in Jerusalem—Causes of the Emperor's Return to Europe—Quarrel between Frederick and the Pope—Hermann von Salza effects a Reconciliation—Operations of Hermann Balk against the Heathen—Culm, Thorn, and Rheden built (1231)—Treacherous Capture of Bishop Christian—The Charter of Culm (1232)—The Teutonic Knights reinforced by the Crusaders—Battle of Sirgune (1234)—Liberation of Bishop Christian—Incorporation of the Knights of Dobrin with the Teutonic Order (1235)—Hermann von Salza mediates between the Emperor Frederick and his Son Henry, King of Germany—The Margrave von Meissen assists the Order with a large force—Pomesania Subjugated—Erection of Elbing and its Fort—Early History of Lubeck.

We now return to the career of Von Salza during his attendance on the Emperor Frederick. He landed at Acre, September 8, 1228, at the head of a large contingent of knights, and remained faithful to his great benefactor, even after the Pope had issued a fresh excommunication against Frederick, whereas the Templars and the Knights of St. John pronounced themselves in favour of his Holiness.

He even disregarded the order of the Pope to take over the command of the German and Lombard contingents, and leave the Emperor Frederick to his fate.

In the meanwhile the Pope had levied two armies in Italy, commanded by John de Brienne and Count d'Aquila, which overran the greater part of Lombardy, and forced the Imperialists to retire into the kingdom of Naples. This contest between the partisans of Pope Gregory and the Imperialists gave rise to the two factions, which were afterwards remarkable in the history of Europe under the name of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines; the former siding with the Pope, and the latter with the Emperor.

On receiving tidings of the defeat of his troops in Italy, the Emperor concluded a ten years' truce with the Sultan, for the purpose of enabling him to return to his dominions. By this treaty a great part of Palestine, including the cities of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, Thonon, &c., was ceded to Frederick, with the right to restore the fortifications and rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, the whole of which city, except the Temple, remained in the possession of the Christians. Hermann von Salza had been instrumental in negotiating this truce, and on the 17th of March the Emperor Frederick made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem.

Hermann von Salza accompanied the Emperor when he entered the Temple of Jerusalem; and as

the priest refused to perform the ceremony of coronation, Frederick took the crown, and placed it on his own head. The Emperor entrusted him with the high honour of addressing the nobles and Christians who were then assembled in Jerusalem, to urge upon them the necessity of laying aside all dissensions, and to proceed at once to restore the defences of the Holy City. Hermann von Salza thought this a fitting opportunity for a reconciliation between Frederick and the Pope, to whom he addressed a glowing description of all that Frederick, single handed, had effected in the cause of Christianity. But the Pontiff was in no mood to forgive the Emperor, who had without his assistance, and with a comparatively small army, effected that which all the other Crusaders, supported by the entire power of the Papacy, had failed to accomplish.

The Emperor left Palestine in the month of May, for already it was reported that a rebellion had broken out in Germany, at the instigation of the Pontiff. Hermann von Salza accompanied the Emperor on his return to Italy. In a very short time the Papal armies were defeated; and it was at this period that Von Salza received a communication from Hermann von Balk, urging him to use his influence to obtain the permission of the Pope to organize a crusade against the Prussians. Before the Grand Master could ask this favour from the Pontiff, it was necessary that a complete reconciliation should take place between

the Emperor and Pope Gregory. Accordingly, Frederick despatched Hermann von Salza and the two Archbishops of Reggio and Bari to the Pope for this object. But Gregory, having received intelligence that his supporters were again victorious, haughtily declined to treat with the Emperor. The archbishops returned to Frederick; but Von Salza remained at Rome to watch over the interests of the Emperor. The success of the Guelphs was only temporary; for before long the Emperor had defeated all his adversaries, and the greater part of Europe was now on his side. Gregory, fearing that Frederick might make his triumphal entry into Rome, now listened to the proposals of Von Salza, who at last, in November, 1229, was able to bring to the Emperor at Aquino the welcome news of the Pope's desire for a reconciliation. Towards the end of the year 1229, the Grand Master brought forward the Duke of Masovia's request to the Pope. Gregory declined to have a crusade preached until the terms of the reconciliation had been solemnly ratified; but he issued a bull, bearing the date January 18, 1230, in which the knights in Germany and those in Culm are exhorted to do their utmost to develope the power of the Church amongst the heathen Prussians.

At last Hermann von Salza was able to adjust the seemingly irreconcilable interests of the Pope and the Emperor, and on the 1st of September, 1230, Frederick and Gregory had a personal interview

at Anagni; and Hermann von Salza was the only person permitted to take part in their deliberations. As a sign of the respect which was entertained for him by the two representatives of the Christian religion, Von Salza was allowed to dine with the two potentates, no other guest being present. The Pope then solemnly ratified all the arrangements which the Teutonic Order had entered into with the Duke of Masovia. He also did the same concerning the concessions made by the Duke and Bishop of Plotzk to the Knights of Dobrin.

In September, 1230, Gregory issued a bull calling upon the Christians residing in the vicinity of the frontiers of Prussia to make common cause with the Teutonic Order and the Knights of Dobrin and Duke of Masovia in spreading Christianity in Prussia. The bull granted absolution, and the same indulgences as were offered to Crusaders in the East. The Emperor now made Von Salza an imperial prince, and allowed the Order to inscribe the imperial eagle on a small golden shield in the centre of two crosses. Originally their banner had nothing but a plain black cross, but John IV., King of Jerusalem, had allowed them to inscribe a golden cross within the black. Subsequently, in 1250, St. Louis, King of France, allowed them to ornament the cross with the *fleur-de-lis*, in consideration of the services rendered by the knights at the capture of Damietta.

For the purpose of opening communication with

Prussia, the knights determined to capture the castle of Rogow, not far from Thorn; also Chelmo, not far from Culm, probably the site of the modern Althaus. These two burgs served as a place of refuge to the marauding bands of the Prussians. Between the two forts was a camp, partly surrounded by a lake. A Pomesanian noble, named Pipin, had here collected a large force, with which he made the entire surrounding country unsafe for the Christians. These obstacles rendered the passage of the Vistula and the defence of the country extremely difficult for the knights. Von Balk now determined to destroy these two strongholds of the enemy. Advancing from Nessau at the head of all his available force, and accompanied by the Duke of Masovia, he crossed the Vistula at a place then called Quercz, but now Gurske. The first step was to seize the ruins of the old castle of Turn, the present Thorn, which had formerly been given, in the year 1222, by Conrad to Bishop Christian, but had been abandoned by the latter. This now was refortified, since it served as an excellent basis of operations against the heathens. Leaving a small party to protect Thorn and the vessels which had conveyed the Crusaders across the river, Von Balk advanced against Rogow. Before reaching the place he encountered the Prussians, who, after a desperate resistance, were totally defeated; and their leader, who was taken prisoner, in order to save his life, treacherously

handed over Rogow to the knights. Von Balk now turned his steps to the other Prussian strongholds. Having concealed his men in the vicinity of Quercz, he despatched the Prussian traitor to reconnoitre the garrison of that place, who returned with the information that it could offer no resistance, as all the men were overcome by a drunken debauch. The knights thereupon entered the stronghold, which they surprised, and put all within it to the sword. As the knights had not sufficient force to garrison Quercz they destroyed it.

Balk now considered it prudent to retire to Thorn, as the force under his command was not strong enough to storm the entrenched camp of the Prussians. Pipin, enraged at the wholesale massacre of his countrymen, now retaliated by inflicting frightful atrocities on every Christian who fell into his hands. Balk, fearing that his opponent might receive sufficient reinforcements to surround him in Thorn, determined at all hazards to destroy the camp. The Prussian captain who had delivered the two forts into the hands of the knights offered to betray Pipin, who was his nephew, into their power. This he effected; and when Pipin came nto their hands he was first bound, and then attached to the tail of a horse, and thus dragged to Thorn, where his body was suspended from the branch of a tree. A considerable delay, however, took place in the assembling of the Crusaders for the subjugation of Prussia.

In order to accelerate their advance, Von Salza caused the news to be spread all over Germany that the knights had been very successful, and had already conquered considerable territory, which, on account of the flight of the inhabitants, required settlers. He also promised that those who went to assist the knights should receive the undisputed possession of large domains. The principal cause of the delay was the jealousy of the ecclesiastics concerning the rights of the Order to the conquered territory. The priests desired to become temporal sovereigns in the dioceses which might be given to them. It is true that the Pope did his utmost openly to counteract this jealousy; yet his crafty and aggressive policy induced him to secretly support them.

In the beginning of the year 1232, Gregory issued a bull in which he gave a most heartrending description of the treatment of the Christians by the Prussians, stating that they held 10,000 Christians as prisoners, that they had killed upwards of 20,000, and had destroyed many villages, monasteries, and chapels, 10,000 in all. The Pontiff also addressed a letter to those who were preaching a crusade against the Prussians, empowering them to grant all kinds of indulgences for the most heinous offences, provided the recipients joined the crusade. By these means, at last, the Crusaders were considerably reinforced. The first contingent that came to the support of the

Order was under the leadership of the Burgrave of Magdeburg, a veteran Crusader, who had with him 5,000 well-equipped soldiers, together with a considerable number of immigrants. On their arrival Balk selected a spot as the site for a new town which was protected from the inundations of the Vistula and the forays of the Prussians, the surrounding country being excessively fertile. Here he laid the foundation of the city of Thorn, a modification of the ancient name Turn. In a very short time a church was built in the centre of the rising buildings, and was dedicated to St. John.

Balk, having now received fresh reinforcements from Germany, advanced as far as the ruins of Culm, which he commenced rebuilding, the German settlers in the mean time busying themselves with that which would ultimately become the great stronghold of Germanism. In a very short time the town of Culm became the centre-point of attraction to all German settlers. By the end of the year 1232 the castle was so far advanced that its commandant, Barlewin, could take up his abode in it.

Hermann Balk then resolved to lay down a constitution for the towns of Thorn and Culm, and for that purpose held a consultation with the Burgrave of Magdeburg. The result of his deliberations was the celebrated charter named the "Culmische Handfeste," which defined the rights and liberties,

the privileges and obligations, of the two cities in perpetuity. According to this charter the towns of Thorn and Culm received the right to elect annually magistrates and justices from among the citizens and burghers, subject only to the approval of the Grand Master of the Order. A third part of all fines and forfeitures was to be set aside for the payment of the salaries of the judges. The knights further promised not to appropriate any buildings either in Thorn or Culm, unless they received them as pious gifts from the citizens, and in such cases the property of the knights was not to be exempt from municipal charges. The knights endowed the churches of Culm and Thorn with four hides of land, reserving the patronage and the right of appointing capable ministers, and allowed the citizens to retain possession of their property according to the Flemish rights of inheritance, but, at the same time, claiming a right to all the lakes, mines, the working of all metals, except iron, as well as to all wild game, except bears, hogs, and roebucks. The citizens were at liberty to sell the property which they had received from the knights, with the understanding that the purchaser incurred the same obligations to the Order as the previous proprietor. A citizen in pecuniary difficulties could sell a portion of his estates, but was bound to render the same services as for the whole, and the purchaser was also under some slight military obligations.

It was further enacted that whoever received a possession from the Order should be liable to a tax of a Cologne pfenning or five Culm pfennings, as a token of the supremacy and jurisdiction of the knights, who, on the other hand, engaged to protect him in all cases of need. Any one who should refuse to give military services when called upon was liable to the forfeiture of his holding which might be given to another person. Moreover, it was enacted that a bushel of wheat and the same of rye were to be given annually to the bishop of the diocese as tithe. Further, the coinage of Culm was to be a legal tender in the whole country, and the coins were to be recalled and recoined once only in every ten years; but no compulsory tax was to be imposed.

In 1233 the knights had assembled an army which amounted to 20,000 men, consisting of 4,000 under Duke Conrad; 2,000 under his son Casimir of Cujavia; 3,000 under Henry, Duke of Breslau; 5,000 under Dukes Swantepol and Sambor; more than 2,000 under Wladislaus of the Grand Duchy of Poland; and lastly, a contingent of 5,000 under the Burgrave of Magdeburg. Before undertaking anything against the Prussians in the direction of Pomesania it was necessary to fortify their position at Marienwerder. The appearance of such a large army of Crusaders so intimidated the Prussians that they determined to postpone hostilities for the present. They were no doubt actuated by

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the knowledge that a large part of the army had undertaken to serve for one year only. Accordingly they despatched an embassy of the principal nobles and priests, entreating the knights to suspend hostilities, and expressing their readiness to embrace the Christian faith. Thereupon Bishop Christian with a strong escort proceeded into Pomesania to preach the Gospel. Suddenly his escort was surprised and massacred to a man, and he himself was taken prisoner. The knights made no efforts to release him by invading the territory of the enemy. This arose from the unhealthy state of the marshes through which the army would be obliged to pass. Active preparations were therefore deferred until the winter. At this time the army of the Crusaders was divided into two parties, one supporting Bishop Christian and the other that of the knights. For the purpose of reconciling the jealousies between them, the Pope issued two Bulls—one to the army, urging them to maintain union and concord; a second to the mendicant friars, exhorting them to steadfastly pursue their labours, and to be cautious, not to trust the Prussians who might offer to be baptized; ordering them likewise to render obedience to the commands of the Teutonic Order; and further urging them to impress upon the Crusaders generally the necessity of united action and obedience to the dictates of Hermann Balk.

Early in 1234, the knights, with an army of 15,000 men, advanced to invade Pomesania.

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The knights selected this time of the year on account of the rivers and marshes being frozen. It was not until they arrived at the river Sirgune that they found the enemy drawn up to oppose their progress. The knights, however, resolved to dislodge them, and a furious battle ensued. It commenced at midday and continued until night-fall. Both sides fought with desperate valour. In fact, several times the tide of fortune swayed between them, but the result was finally decided by a flank movement of the Dukes of Pomerania, which commanded the enemy's line of retreat. A portion of the Prussian army, however, threw itself into a neighbouring stronghold. The Crusaders lost in the battle upwards of 4,000 men, while their opponents lost more than 5,000. The next morning the Crusaders attacked the stronghold and took it by storm, giving no quarter. This battle on the river Sirgune was afterwards known by the name of the "Field of the Dead." The result of the defeat of the Pomesanians was the liberation of Bishop Christian; but no sooner did he gain his freedom than he was again embroiled with the Order. Unfortunately other important disputes arose. A most serious misunderstanding had been pending between the knights and the Duke of Masovia, respecting the incorporation of the Knights of Dobrin with the German Order. The Duke objected to this proposition, although desired by the members of both Orders. He contended that

if the union took place, all the property which he had conceded to the Knights of Dobrin, together with the castle, must return to him. The two Orders now appealed to the Pope, who despatched the Bishop of Modena as his Legate to effect a compromise. The Legate was further instructed to mediate between Christian and the Order, and to regulate all ecclesiastical matters not only in Prussia, but also throughout the north of Prussia and Russia.

As regards the dispute between Christian and the knights, the Legate decided that Bishop Christian was entitled to one-third of the conquered territory and the knights to the other two-thirds, and that the bishop had the power to exercise all priestly functions in the territory of the Order. The Papal Legate also decided another point of dispute against the bishop, viz., his right to tithes in the territory of the Order.

Prior to the arrival of the Legate, the union of the two orders was already accomplished, and the Teutonic Knights had taken possession of the territory of Dobrin, in defiance of the protest of the Duke of Masovia. In order to justify this action, Hermann Balk influenced the Legate to induce the Pope to sanction the annexation of the territory and the incorporation of the Knights of Dobrin. The Pope did so, and availed himself of this opportunity to issue a Bull, in which he declared that all the territory which the knights had

acquired belonged originally to St. Peter, and had been bestowed upon them as an apostolic gift. He pronounced that the same was to hold good with reference to any future acquisitions which the order might make, with the understanding that the Pope should have the right of appointing bishops and prelates, and the erection of churches, and that a certain annual sum should be paid to him, as an acknowledgment of the supremacy of the successors of St. Peter in all acquired territory.

Every one will see at a glance that it was the intention of the Papacy to regard Prussia in the light of a fief, and gradually to obtain a regular footing in the country, which intention, if successful, would enable the Pope to lessen the power of the Emperor and the princes of Germany. Conrad refused to agree to the arrangement, and formally declared that he would no longer render any assistance to the knights. Pope Gregory reprimanded him for his conduct, but without result. He also ordered all bishops, prelates, and priests to be unremitting in persuading fresh Crusaders to join the Order. Accordingly we find that the Landgrave Conrad of Thuringia, and his brother Henry, together with twenty-five of his nobles, enrolled themselves in the brotherhood in 1234. The wife of Louis of Thuringia on her death bequeathed to the Order the hospital and chapel of Marburg, and the two brothers, Henry and Conrad, richly endowed the establishment, and gave to

the Order several other estates. From this time Marburg became the seat of the Land Comthur of Hesse.

In the years 1235 and 1236, the Emperor Frederick bestowed upon the knights some valuable domains and churches in the vicinity of Magdeburg. He likewise took all their establishments under his imperial protection, and freed them from all imposts and dues. Hermann von Salza, the Grand Master, arrived about this time in Germany, and attended upon the Emperor at Ratisbon, where a large army had assembled to support the Emperor against his son Henry, King of Germany, who had joined the Lombard league. Ever since the reconciliation between the Pope and the Emperor, Von Salza had been the confidential agent between them, and in this capacity he carried on all the negotiations with the Lombards up to the time of which we are now speaking.

Von Salza now again acted as mediator, and for the purpose of preventing his beloved fatherland from being the scene of a fratricidal struggle, he repaired to the castle of Trifels, where Henry had sought refuge. Here Von Salza induced the rebellious son to sue for pardon. The Emperor and his son became apparently reconciled at Worms, but Henry, who cherished a deadly feeling of revenge against his parent, not only attempted to excite a second rebellion against Frederick, but was even suspected of having attempted to poison him.

He was, therefore, arrested and confined in the castle of San Felice, in Apulia.

At the marriage of the Emperor with Princess Isabella, sister of Henry III., King of England, Hermann von Salza was one of the principal personages in the Emperor's retinue; and also at the celebrated Diet at Mentz, August 15, 1235, where the Emperor's second son was crowned King of the Romans. In this assembly the Grand Master became acquainted with the Margrave Henry von Meissen, who promised to lead a considerable number of Crusaders against the Prussians in the ensuing year. The high position which Von Salza occupied at the Imperial Court enabled him, during his residence at Hagenau and Ratisbon, to have frequent deliberations with those princes and nobles who favoured the scheme of subjugating the Prussians by means of the order, and the Grand Master's eloquence induced many of them to enrol themselves amongst the Crusaders, who were to start on their perilous campaign in the ensuing year. Unfortunately Von Salza was unable to remain to organize the Crusaders in person, as the Pope urgently required his counsels in Italy.

In the spring of 1235 the two orders received the solemn ratification of their union by the Pope. The Papal Legate, William of Modena, with the Bishop of Plotzk, after considerable difficulty, brought about a compromise between the Order and the Duke of Masovia. The knights restored to the

Duke the castle of Dobrin and the districts belonging to it. The Duke on his part reimbursed the Order by a cession of fresh territory, and acknowledging the supremacy of the knights in the remaining portion of the country which the Knights of Dobrin had possessed. He also undertook to respect the privileges of the inhabitants of Dobrin and those who had settled in its vicinity. Hereupon several of the Knights of Dobrin, under the command of the Master, took service under the Duke of Masovia, who gave them the castle of Drohiczyn, with a large tract of land between the rivers Bug and Dnieper extending as far as the frontiers of Russia. Their duty was to protect Poland from the attacks of the wandering Tartars. In the year 1236, Henry von Meissen arrived at Thorn at the head of 500 knights and a large number of settlers and camp-followers, a great part of whom came from North Germany, principally from Lubeck and Bremen. Von Balk and Von Meissen commenced the campaign by taking possession of both banks of the Vistula. The Pomesanians thereupon retreated to the woods, leaving a numerous garrison in their strongholds, which the combined forces stormed in succession: their unfortunate defenders, as usual, being put to the sword. The knights had already captured or destroyed three castles; they now proceeded to attack Wehrburg, not far from Stuhm, and also Willenberg, near the site of Marienburg. Those who offered resistance were

either killed or made serfs and forcibly baptized. The Pomesanians, who, as before seen, had retreated before their opponents in order to avoid starvation or serfdom, surrendered to the knights and were baptized, the knights granting them certain privileges, which were afterwards generally granted to those who offered unconditional submission. The greater part of Pomesania now became a province of the knights, which afforded them an easy communication with the sea, along the Vistula to the Frische Haff. Von Balk now determined to attempt the conquest of Pogesania, but in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to have the command of the lake of Drausen, which was in those days far greater in extent than at present.

In 1237 the Margrave of Meissen renounced his intention of taking part in the invasion of Pogesania, and returned home. But he left behind most of his followers, with whose assistance Von Balk erected a strong fort on the borders of the sea. He and his companions then embarked on board two ships, which were built by the artisans of Von Meissen, and sailed to the spot where the lake discharges itself into the river Elbing. In the centre of the river they found an island, on which they erected a fort. The knights soon expelled the inhabitants from the borders of the lake, and with their ships opened a communication with the Vistula. For a considerable time a desperate struggle con-

tinued between the knights and the Pogesanians, who gradually gave way; for they found that neither by their bravery nor by the assistance of their gods could they withstand the onslaughts of the small host of Crusaders, although they had been told that the gods would revenge themselves on the knights for having destroyed one of their places of worship. At last the greater part of the nation acknowledged the authority of the Order and were baptized, and gave hostages for their future good conduct. Von Balk in return granted them rights similar to those which the Pomesanians had received.

We have stated that Von Meissen was accompanied mostly by North Germans. These men now settled on the banks of the Drausen, probably on the site of ancient Truso, which was formerly the great place of barter between the Prussians and Danes. This town was called Elbing, after the name of the river, and in a very short time became one of the principal sea-ports of Prussia.

As Lubeck was the port from which came most of the agricultural and industrial settlers, who laid the foundation of the maritime and commercial prosperity of the country, we here give a sketch of its early history.

The ancient town of Lubeck was situated at the junction of the two streams, the Trave and the Swartau. The origin of the name is uncertain. According to some writers the name Lubeck is

derived from a certain patriotic fisherman named Luba, who is said to have saved the town from the enemy by a bold and cunning stratagem. Some derive the word from a Wend warrior named Lubimar. Others trace it to a certain king named Liuby, who lived just before the time of Charlemagne, and who ruled over a tribe of the Wends belonging to the Sclavonic race. Some of the Wends embraced Christianity in the early part of the tenth century, through the zeal of the Emperor Otho I., who established a bishopric at Oldenburg in 952. Otho appointed his Chancellor Marco to this See, which included the district of Lubeck and some portion of Sleswig. Bishop Marco died in 971, and was succeeded by Bishop Edward, who was consecrated by the Archbishop of Hamburg, named Adeldagus. The first bishops of Oldenburg displayed great zeal in converting the heathens, and gradually many of them embraced Christianity. King Gottschalk, grandson of a chief named Meztevoi, who had been appointed ruler of the Obotrites by Dietrich, Governor of Brandenburg, is said to have introduced Christianity into Lubeck, and to have founded and endowed a monastery about the year 1050, at which date the history of Lubeck may be said to begin.

During the ensuing fifteen years King Gottschalk having lost his influence and popularity, the Wends gradually fell away from Christianity and relapsed into heathenism. Having appointed as their leader

a warrior named Blusso, they broke out into open rebellion and assassinated the pious King Gottschalk in 1066, whilst at his devotions in a church he had himself built at Lenzen. The murder of the king was followed by a vindictive and wholesale slaughter of all those who remained faithful to the Christian religion, and the destruction by fire of all the churches and cathedrals in Oldenburg and Mecklenburg, and the town of Lubeck was amongst the chief sufferers. The two sons of Gottschalk, Butue and Henry, sought safety in flight. In 1074 the former sought to avenge his father's death, but with little success. In 1075 he made an attempt to obtain the crown, but was treacherously slain, leaving two sons, Pribislaus and Niklot, both in their minority. In the meanwhile the kingdom was governed by Crito, a usurper of Wendish origin, who ruled for some years with absolute power, but in course of time became so unpopular by his arbitrary acts that the principal nobles conspired to invite Henry, the younger son of Gottschalk, who had been living in exile in Denmark, to supplant the usurper. Assisted by the Danes with a large fleet, Henry appeared off the coast, and, having effected a landing, proceeded to overrun the country. So great was his success that Crito sent an embassy to the invader, offering to cede to him a portion of the country. The offer was accepted, and the old town of Lubeck became the residence of Prince Henry.

The peace between Crito and Henry was signed

in 1104. Shortly after, Crito resolved to lay the foundation of a new town, as a rival to the old town of Lubeck. He accordingly selected a small island at the confluence of the two streams Trave and Wackenitz and laid the foundation of the modern Lubeck. In 1105, Crito was assassinated at the instigation of Prince Henry, who thereupon became sole king and ruler of the Obotrites. Having overcome all his enemies, Henry resolved to restore the Christian religion as in the reign of his father. He made Lubeck his capital, and proceeded to enlarge and embellish it.

In 1107 the inhabitants of Rugen, who had been reduced to submission, resolved to throw off the yoke, and, having collected a large fleet, sailed up the Trave and laid siege to Lubeck. A series of engagements ensued, in which the rebels were worsted and compelled to return to their island. King Henry thereupon invaded the island and reduced it to complete submission. The constant rebellions of the Wends prevented Henry from giving much of his attention to the development of the internal prosperity of his dominions and to the restoration of the Christian Church.

In 1120 there was but one single church in the whole kingdom, viz., the one at Lubeck, built since the accession of Henry to the throne of his father. In 1125 the celebrated missionary to the Wends, Vicelin, accompanied by two missionary priests, Ludolf and Rudolf, came to Lubeck, and were hos-

pitably entertained at the court of King Henry, who gave them every support and assistance in the propagation of Christianity amongst his subjects. Henry died at the age of seventy, in 1127, leaving the throne to his two sons, Swantepol and Canute.

On the death of Henry, the kingdom was ruled jointly by Swantepol and Canute, but the latter being treacherously murdered in 1130, Swantepol held undivided sway over the country until 1135, when he in his turn was murdered by a nobleman named Daso. As Swantepol left an only son, a youth who also met an untimely death, the crown was offered to Canute, Duke of Sleswig, who made Lubeck his capital, and devoted his attention to the improvement and adornment of the town by the construction of magnificent structures and spacious roads. He also founded several large churches and restored public worship, which had been interrupted for some years in consequence of the repeated invasions of the people of Rugen.

Notwithstanding the great services rendered to his kingdom and capital, Canute was not more fortunate than his predecessors, for he too met with an untimely death in 1136, when the kingdom was divided between two princes whose names have been already mentioned, viz., Pribislaus and Niklot. The former received as his portion Lauenburg and Wagrien, which included Lubeck. Both these princes, having been educated in the heathen religion, set

about undoing the pious acts of their Christian predecessors, and succeeded in restoring the old heathen worship. The Christian missionary, Vicelin, who had been so instrumental in restoring the Christian religion during the preceding reigns, now proceeded to the court of the Emperor Lothair, whose influence he enlisted in behalf of the Christians. The Emperor ordered a fort to be erected at Segeberg, near Lubeck, and garrisoned with Christian soldiers. The fort remained an eyesore to Pribislaus, who, immediately on the death of the Emperor Lothair, advanced with an army against it and caused it to be destroyed.

In 1139 the people of Rugen, under their Prince Ratzo, again invaded Lubeck, and this time with more than their former success. The old town, called the Swartau Lubeck, became the prey of the invaders, who entirely destroyed both the houses and fortifications. On the departure of the invaders the new town was considerably enlarged, and became the seat of government, so that with the year 1140 the real history of modern Lubeck may be said to begin.

The construction and enlargement of the new town of Lubeck was carried out under the auspices of Count Adolf of Holstein, who now became sovereign ruler of the country. This enterprising prince found the country almost depopulated, the result of incessant warfare between the Obotrites and inhabitants of the islands of the

Baltic. He accordingly invited colonists from all parts of Europe, offering large grants of land and advances of money for the cultivation of the land. To be enabled to carry out his peaceful projects he entered into a friendly alliance with the neighbouring Prince Niklot. Unfortunately, this alliance proved rather disadvantageous to Adolf's projects, for in the following year Niklot, becoming embroiled in a dispute with Saxony, claimed the assistance of Count Adolf. On the latter refusing to take part in a war with the Saxon princes, Niklot found some pretext for invading Wagrien, which he overran, but Count Adolf having succeeded in assembling an army, the enemy withdrew, returning home with a great quantity of plunder.

In 1149 the zealous and energetic missionary Vicelin was rewarded for his labours by being created Bishop of Oldenburg. Although his official residence was at Oldenburg, the new bishop still took the greatest interest in the welfare and development of Lubeck, the scene of his early evangelical labours. Under his auspices a chapel was built in 1150, which formed the foundation of the modern church of St. John. As testimony of the great respect in which Vicelin was held throughout Europe, it may be mentioned that he received the bishop's staff from Duke Henry the Lion in person. In the meanwhile the alliance between Count Adolf and Niklot was renewed, and the two princes

had frequent interviews, either at Lubeck or at Travemunde. The result of the peaceful policy of Count Adolf soon showed itself in the increasing prosperity of the town. Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony and Bavaria, now claimed a portion of the town of Lubeck as indemnity for the losses experienced by the ducal town of Bardewick in consequence of the sudden rise of Lubeck, and on the Count refusing to accede to this demand, he forbade all commercial intercourse between his subjects and Lubeck, through which the latter suffered very materially.

In the year 1157 a great part of the town was destroyed by fire, and many of the wealthy merchants were ruined. The citizens thereupon tried to induce Count Adolf to surrender the injured part of the town to Duke Henry. The Count not approving of the proposal, the inhabitants appealed in person to the Duke, who willingly allowed them to erect a new town on the river Wackenitz, at some distance from Lubeck, and to which he gave the name of Löwenstadt, from his own surname. This took place in 1158. The situation of the new town was soon found to be inconvenient, as the river was too shallow to admit vessels of any burden, and the town exposed to the attacks of the Wends. Duke Henry recommenced negotiations with Count Adolf for the rebuilding of the destroyed part of Lubeck. The Count at length yielded to the overtures of the Duke and the

work of reconstruction was undertaken with such zeal that the town soon rose from its ruins for the third time.

Duke Henry the Lion made very important changes in the constitution of Lubeck, besides erecting fortifications and surrounding the city with walls and ramparts. He also granted the town several important privileges and monopolies, so that it now entered on a new era of prosperity. As during the temporary absence of the Duke in Italy the Sclaves resumed their incursions, and attempted to take the town by surprise, on his return he resolved to form a garrison, to protect it from future attacks of such troublesome neighbours.

In 1162 the seat of the bishopric of Oldenburg was transferred to Lubeck at the suggestion of Bishop Gerold, who considered the rising and prosperous town of Lubeck more suitable as a cathedral city than the fast decaying town of Oldenburg. Bishop Gerold was a man of great zeal and energy, and the organization of the new chapter was soon complete. A cathedral was erected, to which were added a cloister and oratory, which were endowed by munificent gifts from Duke Henry and several wealthy burghers.

In 1163 the cathedral was formally consecrated by the Metropolitan, the Archbishop Hartwig, of Hamburg. In 1164 the Wends again invaded the country, carrying all before them. A great battle was fought, in which Count Adolf II. was defeated

and killed. The Wends proceeded to plunder the country, but their victorious career was suddenly checked by an army of Saxons under Duke Henry, who routed them in a pitched battle, and caused them to disperse in all directions.

In the following year, the Duke invaded Pomerania at the head of his army, to punish Dukes Casimir and Boguslaus for assisting and protecting Prince Pribislaus, ruler of the Wends. He soon compelled the Pomeranians to sue for peace, and entered into an alliance with Waldemar, King of Denmark, who shortly after took possession of the island of Rugen, and, according to the terms of the alliance, shared the booty with his new ally, the Duke of Saxony.

In 1171 Henry the Lion made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visiting the Holy Sepulchre and other sacred spots. Under his powerful rule Lubeck increased rapidly in wealth and prosperity. The Lubeck merchants extended their connexions with all the ports on the coast of Prussia, Jutland, and Sweden; and it was from this port that in 1176 Monk Meinhard set sail to preach the Gospel in Liefland, as already narrated.

The star of Henry the Lion having reached its zenith now began to decline. The German princes had long regarded with envy his growing power and success, and eagerly sought an opportunity to humble his pride. By their intrigues Henry was involved in a dispute with the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa,

who, in 1180, summoned the Duke to appear before him, and on his refusal declared him an outlaw. Henry, nothing daunted, formed an alliance with Adolf II. of Holstein, and defeated his enemies in several battles, taking prisoner Count Simon of Tecklenburg and the Bishop of Halberstadt.

In 1182 the Emperor Frederick advanced at the head of his army, from Saxony, into the dominions of Henry the Lion, and proceeded to lay siege to Lubeck. The inhabitants made a long and obstinate resistance, but at length were induced to capitulate, on the Emperor undertaking to guarantee to them all the rights and privileges they had enjoyed under the rule of Henry the Lion, who at last was forced to throw himself at the feet of the Emperor, by whom he was forgiven on promising to retire into exile. On the retirement of Henry the Lion, Bernhard von Anhalt became the Duke of Saxony, who soon became involved in disputes with Lubeck, as also with the Count of Holstein, and was obliged to seek the mediation of the Emperor.

In 1189 Henry the Lion returned from exile, and having succeeded in collecting a large army, advanced into Holstein, which he overran, capturing the towns of Hamburg, Ploen, and Bardewick. After crossing the Elbe, he appeared before Lubeck, which opened its gates to him. He then captured the castles of Lauenburg and Sege-

berg. In the mean time news came of the sudden death of the Emperor Frederick, who was succeeded by his son, Henry VI. By the mediation of the Archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, a reconciliation was effected between the Emperor and Duke Henry, who was restored to his former title and power, but was obliged to cede the half of Lubeck to Count Adolf of Holstein, and to surrender his sons as hostages of good faith. But the Duke did not long retain possession of Lubeck, for the Count of Holstein, on returning from the Crusades in 1192, laid siege to the town, which was forced to surrender. Duke Henry died in 1195, after an eventful and chequered career, and having lost all his territory, with the exception of his patrimonial estates in Brunswick.

In 1198 Count Adolf became embroiled in a dispute with the King of Denmark, who fitted out a fleet for the invasion of Holstein. Several merchant ships belonging to the port of Lubeck were seized. Duke Waldemar, brother of the King, commanded the invading army and advanced as far as Lubeck, to which he laid siege. The Lubeckers, dreading the destruction of their trade and shipping, made overtures for a capitulation, offering to acknowledge the supremacy of the Danes. Waldemar, having attained his object, readily accepted the conditions offered, and returned to Denmark. On the withdrawal of the Danish army, Count Adolf renounced his allegiance, and expelled the

Danes from the country. Waldemar thereupon made a second invasion, and succeeded in taking prisoner the Count, who was put in chains and sent to Denmark. Shortly after, Duke Waldemar succeeded his brother as King of Denmark, and convoked an assembly of his Sclavic vassals, where he was acknowledged King of the Sclaves.

Under the Danish rule the town of Lubeck was fortified and considerably enlarged. In 1217 the whole town was surrounded by a strong wall, and further strengthened by a series of towers. Count Albert of Orlamunde was also directed in 1219 to construct a strong tower at Travemunde, at the mouth of the Trave.

In 1223 King Waldemar was seized by night and conveyed to Schwerin, where he was detained as a prisoner by Count Henry of Schwerin. During the captivity of the Danish king the burghers of Lubeck despatched in 1226 an embassy to the Emperor Frederick II., offering to place the town under imperial protection. The Emperor graciously received the embassy, and acceded to their request. On the town becoming an imperial city, the Lubeckers expelled the Danish garrison, destroyed the stronghold, and reasserted their independence.

In 1227 Waldemar being released, returned to his kingdom, and almost his first act was to invade Holstein, to recover his supremacy. The Lubeckers, fearing another siege, resolved to meet the Danes in the open field; and accordingly, uniting their

forces with their allies, the Counts of Holstein and Schwerin, advanced to meet the invading army, which they encountered on the plain of Bornhoevet, between Ploen and Segeberg.

After a desperate fight the Danes were completely worsted, and compelled to seek safety in flight. By the success of the allies at Bornhoevet, Lubeck recovered its freedom. In commemoration of the victory an annual *fête* was held on the anniversary of the battle, and a cloister erected on the ruins of the citadel. In 1230 the Emperor Frederick extended the privileges of the town, and allowed the citizens to hold an annual public fair. In 1241 the citizens of Lubeck entered into an alliance with Hamburg for the mutual protection of their trading vessels in the Baltic and the Elbe. The Hamburgers had some time before formed a similar alliance with the Frisians; and thus arose the Hansa or Hanseatic Confederation, in which Lubeck subsequently took such a prominent part.

It was at this period that the citizens distinguished themselves by their courage and enterprise, and that Henry von Meissen, at the head of a number of Lubeckers, assisted the Teutonic Knights in founding the important town of Elbing, which afterwards became the rival of the parent city.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1235—1240.

Von Balk's Policy towards the Prussians—Erection of Forts along the Banks of the Vistula—Plague—Polish Immigrants—Overtures for the Incorporation of the Knights of the Sword with the Teutonic Order—History of Liefland under the Knights of the Sword—Despatch of Envoys to Von Salza (1235)—Negotiations between the two Orders—Chapter at Marburg (1236) — Incorporation Postponed — The Delegates of the Knights of the Sword proceed to Italy—Waldemar demands the Restitution of Reval—Invasion of Lithuania—Defeat and Death of Bolquin, Master of Liefland (1236)—Union of the two Orders—Reconciliation with Waldemar—Hermann Balk appointed Governor of Liefland—Attempted Capture of Honeida—Slaughter of the Knights—Death of Hermann von Salza (1239)—His Character—Death of Her mann Balk.

ELBING in a very short time, from its connexion with Lubeck, became a second Truso. Hermann von Balk, the first Landmaster, was a man of experience, moderation, and judgment, and we are informed that even on his first arrival in Prussia he

gave distinct orders that the Prussians should not be forcibly baptized, and when it did take place, we are further told that it was at the instigation of the priests; but this the reader will, like ourselves, perhaps object to believe, for the knights were always sufficiently strong to curb the power of the few priests who were with them, if they desired to do so; besides which we do not hear of any proclamation of Von Balk to the heathens, granting them freedom of worship. As long as the Prussians remained obedient vassals, and performed their religious duties, they found the knights far better masters than their former rulers, for their children were educated and taken care of when sick in the hospitals of the Order.

The knights now erected a number of fortified places along the banks of the Vistula and the Haff, which enabled them always to keep open their communication with their foreign allies. But the constant forays which they were making in the Prussian districts reduced the miserable inhabitants nearly to starvation. The consequence was a frightful plague, and the Prussians who had embraced Christianity, considering it a judgment of the gods for having forsaken them, returned to heathenism, although outwardly they remained Christians.

The loss which the knights had experienced by the death of so many of their subjects was shortly after replaced by a large number of Polish colonists,

who had migrated from their country on account of the disorders there. Von Balk granted them exceptional privileges as also domains, which they were to hold as fiefs of the Order. In 1235 Bolquin, successor of Binno as Master of the Knights of the Sword, by Bishop Albert's advice, applied to Hermann Balk to obtain the incorporation of the Knights of the Sword with the Teutonic Order, as there was little difference in their rules and constitution.

In order to understand the nature of the circumstances which led to this step, it will be necessary to resume the history of the conquest of Liefland.

In the year 1211, as we have already seen, an alliance was made between Bishop Albert and the Grand Duke of Polotzk. This secured a temporary period of peace, but before long fresh troubles arose. The first cause of alarm was an insurrection of natives who had been baptized in the territory of the Wends. These proselytes suddenly threw off their adopted religion, and attempted to expel their rulers, and it was only through the decisive action of the German settlers that order was restored. Hardly had this insurrection been quelled when the Lithuanians invaded Liefland, causing great destruction of property. Although driven back, they made two other expeditions into the country, each time with increased impetuosity; and their audacity and perseverance induced the Estlanders

to make common cause with them against the Order. Thereupon Bishop Philip von Ratzeburg, who was fulfilling the duties of Bishop Albert, then absent, invaded Estland at the head of a large army, chiefly composed of Germans. The atrocities which the knights committed, led to the rising of the entire people of Estland; and for the space of five years a war to the knife was raging between them. This warfare greatly decreased the numbers of the knights, and had it not been for the activity and zeal of the Pope and the Bishop of Riga, in exciting large numbers of Germans to fill up the gaps thus created, the knights must have succumbed to the impetuosity and patriotic courage of the Estlanders, who were constantly receiving reinforcements from their Russian allies.

In 1216 Count Albert von Orlamunde, a man of great military experience, arrived in Liefland, with a considerable force of veteran soldiers, and assumed the command of the entire army. For the space of a year the Estlanders and their allies were able to keep the field, but at length they were totally defeated in a great battle at Bellin, in the district of Saccala. So crushing was this defeat, that they acknowledged the supremacy of the Order, who retained one-half of the conquered country, and handed over the remaining portion to the Bishop.

We have before said that the Estlanders had

been assisted by the Russians. This arose from the fear that the constantly advancing wave of Christianity would before long destroy their existence as an independent people. As long as the Estlanders were able to keep the knights in check, they formed a bulwark against the invasion of Russia; but their submission at once led to a coalition among the Russian princes, headed by Prince Mtislaus of Novogorod, who offered in person to come to the assistance of the Estlanders, if they attempted to throw off the yoke of the Order. This new combination compelled Albert to invite Waldemar II., surnamed "the Victorious," King of Denmark, the great warrior of the North, to assist him. He accordingly, in conjunction with the Bishops of Estland and Semgallia, proceeded to the Danish court. That the condition of affairs must have been most perilous is clear; for no one would presume that the bishops would apply to Waldemar for help, when they knew that this ambitious ruler already styled himself sovereign of Holstein, Lauenburg, Hamburg, Lubeck, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania, and desired to absorb all the Baltic coast. Waldemar was but too ready to accept such a welcome invitation, and promised to land a large army in the ensuing year.

During these transactions the Russians, headed by Prince Mtislaus of Novogorod and Wladimir, Prince of Pletzkow, invaded Liefland; and the

Master Bolquin would have succumbed, had it not been for the opportune arrival of the Danish king, who, in the year 1218, appeared with a large fleet and 60,000 men, and landed at Reval. In his retinue were the Archbishop of Lund, Bishop Dietrich, and Prince Witzlaus. The Estlanders, terrified at the numbers of their opponents, not only did not attempt to prevent their landing, but evacuated their strong fort at Reval, and retired. Waldemar destroyed it, and built a fresh one, with the same name. The success of the Danes induced the Estlanders to attempt to attack the army of the invaders by a surprise. They accordingly secretly concentrated a large army in the vicinity of the Danish camp, which they suddenly attacked at five different points; and so fierce was their onslaught, that they were able to cut their way through until they reached the tent of the Bishop Dietrich of Estland, which they believed to be that of the King; and the unfortunate prelate, unable to escape, was killed.

At the very moment when the destruction of the Danish army appeared imminent, a miraculous circumstance is said to have taken place; the dismayed Danes suddenly beheld a flag descending from the clouds, which they regarded as an omen of victory. This, coupled with the opportune arrival of the contingent of Prince Witzlaus, so revived the drooping spirits of the Danes, that they renewed the contest with great courage, and so furious

was their charge that the Estlanders fled in all directions.*

Waldemar having effected a junction with the Germans and the knights, totally defeated the combined army of Estlanders and Russians, who were forced to sue for peace. The Danish king thereupon returned to Denmark. He made his chaplain Bishop of Estland, and strongly reinforced the garrison of Reval, to which he attached a contingent to support the Order, should the Russians and Estlanders recommence hostilities, which they did, but were unsuccessful, for the Danes and the knights not only overran the country, but also annexed a portion of Semgallia. These successes led to violent quarrels between the Danes and the Order. The Archbishop of Lund declared that the bishops had promised to cede Estland to Waldemar if he succeeded in bringing the inhabitants to obedience. The Bishop of Liefland and the Master Bolquin denied that such an engagement had been entered into, alleging that all the King of Denmark could claim as having conquered was Reval and Oesel. The Archbishop of Lund now openly forbade the Bishop of Liefland from sending missionaries to convert the Estlanders, as this office alone pertained to the Danish priests; and the King of Denmark called upon Bishop Albert and the principal officers

* The miraculous circumstance referred to gave rise to the institution of the celebrated Danish Order of "Danebrog."

of the Order to appear before him in person at Lubeck, to explain why they had interfered with the proceedings of his Archbishop. Albert had no other resource left than to seek the mediation of the Emperor and the Pope. He therefore repaired to Rome to request the intercession of the Pontiff. As the bishop and Master of the Order did not appear at Lubeck, Waldemar took formal possession of the greater part of Estland.

And now a new power appears on the field of action.

The constant increase of the Danish power on the Baltic had already excited the alarm of the Swedes, and their king, John of Sweden, resolved to obtain a footing in Estland, for the purpose of checking the progress of the Danes. To effect this he landed with a considerable force on the coast of Rotalien, where he succeeded in seizing several of the strongholds of the natives, who, as usual, were forcibly baptized. Domestic affairs, however, compelled the King for the present to forego further conquests, as he was obliged to return home, leaving a large contingent under the command of the powerful Duke of East Gothland. The Swedish colony, however, did not exist longer than a year; for the inhabitants of Oesel surprised and slaughtered them; the Duke of East Gothland and the Bishop of Linköping being amongst the slain.

As neither Pope Honorius III. nor the Em-

peror was willing to give any assistance to Albert, he and his brother Hermann, as already related, had repaired to the court of Waldemar. The probable reason why the Pope would not entertain the bishop's request arose from his jealousy of Bishop Albert, who was striving to make himself independent. As regards the Emperor, Waldemar had afforded him considerable assistance during his struggle with his rival, Otho of Brunswick, for the imperial diadem. He swore allegiance to him, and made over Liefland and Estland, on condition of the prelates and officials agreeing to the conditions. On the Knights of the Sword and the prelates hearing of the arrangement concluded between Albert and Waldemar, they refused to sanction it. The Archbishop of Lund, who resided at Reval in the capacity of Danish governor, undertook to induce the King to forego his claim of supremacy over Liefland, and to conclude a peace with the bishop and the knights. They on their part were mutually to assist the Danes in their wars against the heathens. This compact seems to have been ratified, for we find the Danes and the Order successfully driving back an invasion of the Russians and Lithuanians in the year 1221.

Waldemar, fearing that these powerful enemies would eventually reconquer Estland, again returned to that country. He landed with a considerable force at the island of Oesel, on which he

built a stronghold. Thence he advanced into the country, which he soon reduced to submission, and concluded a formal arrangement with Bishop Albert that Liefland should be under the sole rule of the bishop, and that in the provinces of Saccala and Ungannien the knights were to exercise secular power in his name; also that the bishop should have spiritual authority in the same manner; and that both were to remain faithful to him in any wars which he might undertake. Shortly after the return of Waldemar to Denmark, the inhabitants of Oesel threw off the Danish yoke and destroyed the fort. This was followed by a rising of the people of Estland; and in repressing it the knights lost several of their number, while the greater part of the Danish contingent was killed. This, coupled with the capture of Waldemar by Count Henry of Schwerin, determined the bishop and the knights to throw off the Danish vassalage, and accordingly a fresh division of Estland took place. The Order received the entire district of Saccala; Bishop Hermann received the district of Ungannien; and the surrounding territory of Strandwyk was attached to the see of Riga. This new division of Liefland took place in 1223. Reval remained, however, under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Lund.

Albert, who had always been ready to increase his temporal power, had ceded to the knights several districts on condition of their acknowledging him

as their feudal lord, and it seems highly probable that the bishop followed up this step by opening negotiations with the Imperial Court, in order that he might be raised to the rank of an imperial prince. To prevent the accomplishment of his object the knights on their part commenced treating with the Emperor, who in the year 1226 guaranteed to them sovereign rights over all the territory they possessed, and also that which had been granted to them by the bishop; and, finally, he undertook to take the Order under his special protection.

In the same year the knights laid siege to Dorpat, the residence of the Russian Prince Biesecka. The garrison offered a stubborn resistance, but were obliged at length to surrender through the superior engineering skill of the knights. The capture of this place was of great importance, as it formed in itself a secure rallying point for the advancing or retreating Russians in their incursions into Estland. After the fall of Dorpat the Russian princes of Novogorod and Pletzcow, as well as the Lithuanians, sued for peace, which was granted.

Shortly after this the Papal Legate, William of Modena, arrived in Liefland. The ostensible reason given by the Pope for his mission was the arrangement of ecclesiastical affairs in the North; but, in fact, it was to curb the ambitious designs of Bishop Albert, and to place the lands over which his authority extended under the vassalage of the Papacy.

For this purpose he called a Synod at Riga, where he trusted that, through the mutual jealousies of the Danish ecclesiastics, the knights and Bishop Albert, he would be able to accomplish the Papal project; and this he partially effected by inducing the members to place themselves under the protection of the Pontiff.

The inhabitants of the island of Oesel not only defied the efforts of the Danes and the knights to conquer them, but were constantly in the habit of landing on the coast, where they rendered themselves terrible to the settlers and Christian inhabitants by their deeds of rapine and bloodshed. The island was, moreover, the stronghold of heathenism, as it contained the principal temple of the heathen god Tharapilla. The bishop and the Legate determined to effect its subjugation, and the time selected was when the sea was frozen, so that the army could cross from the mainland. The Legate repaired to Gothland, where he collected an army and advanced against the island, supported by a force of 20,000 men from the mainland under the command of the bishop and Master Bolquin. The sturdy islanders defended the house of their god with extreme pertinacity, but were at last driven into their stronghold of Mone, which was taken by storm, and its garrison of upwards of 3,000 men received no quarter at the hands of their assailants. The temple was destroyed, and the image of Tharapilla was thrown into the sea. The island was annexed and formed into a

new bishopric. There were at this period five bishoprics: (1) Riga, of which Albert was the bishop; (2) the bishopric of Leal or Oesel; (3) the bishopric of Semgallia; (4) the bishopric of Ungannien, held by Hermann, Albert's brother; (5) the bishopric of Reval, subordinate to the Danish Archbishop of Lund.

During the absence of the bishop and the Master of the Order on this expedition, the Lithuanians advanced as far as the Duna, ravaging the country with fire and sword. On his return, Bolquin speedily raised a large army, and caused the enemy to beat a hasty retreat. But the Order had now to encounter a more formidable enemy, namely, the Danes, who had watched with no little jealousy and envy the increasing power of the Germans.

In 1227 the Danes adopted the crafty scheme of sending to the Order an envoy, under the disguise of a Papal Legate, with a command from the Pope to desist from further attacks on the heathens. On this coming to the ears of Pope Gregory IX., he directed that the Danes should be entirely expelled from Estland. The knights immediately commenced hostilities, and being joined by the inhabitants—who were anxious to throw off the Danish yoke—stormed and captured Reval, and annexed the whole country hitherto under the Danish rule. The Emperor ratified the right of possession. Ever since the accession of the young Prince Uten to the

throne of Lithuania, the Order had been constantly employed in protecting Liefland from the forays of this prince, who on one occasion nearly overran the greater part of Liefland, which was saved for a time from further molestation by a severe defeat which the Lithuanians experienced in the vicinity of Alsen, where they lost several thousand men. At this time the Russian Prince, Jaroslaus of Novogorod, was preparing to recommence hostilities, in defiance of the Pope and the Emperor, who had requested him to maintain peace.

In 1229 a fresh cause of danger arose in consequence of the death of Bishop Albert. The Archbishop of Bremen, who hitherto possessed the right of nominating the three chief bishops of Liefland, now appointed Albert, Dean of the cathedral of Bremen; while the Chapter of Riga on their part elected Nicolaus of Magdeburg. The position of the Order in Prussia was now beset with danger. On one side it had to contend with the religious dispute, which might lead not only to disunion amongst the knights, but also to intestine struggles amongst the Christian population. On the other hand, the Russians and Lithuanians might at any moment invade Estland, and bring about a rising of the natives. And furthermore, if the religious dispute was settled, the Order was not prepared to defend its territory from the Russians and Lithuanians, as the stream of pilgrims which flowed yearly into Liefland had been diverted from its course by the

crusades which were being organized by the Pope and Bishop Christian. So that they were now left entirely to their own resources. The increasing influence of the Teutonic Order in other parts of Europe, and the special protection it enjoyed from the Emperor and the Pope, led the Master of the Knights of the Sword to contemplate the union of his Order with that of the Teutonic Knights. He therefore despatched an envoy to Hermann von Salza, who had just then returned from Palestine.

But neither the Pope nor Waldemar, King of Denmark, who owed his freedom to the Grand Master, favoured the union of the two Orders. Hermann von Salza, as we have before seen, declined for the time being to entertain the proposition. Nevertheless, it is highly probable that Von Salza influenced the Pope in his decision in the case of the two rival candidates for the bishopric of Riga, as he appointed Nicolaus to the vacant see, and further ordered that the Archbishop of Bremen and his successors should for ever desist from interfering in the ecclesiastical affairs of Liefland. This enabled the Knights of the Sword to make preparations for the coming storm. The knights themselves, unhappily, were now the cause of the outbreak of hostilities with the Russians, by openly giving a refuge and active support to some rebellious subjects of Prince Jaroslaus of Novogorod, who in retaliation invaded the territory of the

Order in 1234, and penetrated as far as Dorpat, carrying all before him. His triumphant progress was only arrested by a peace, the terms of which were highly advantageous to himself. The Pope, becoming anxious as to the safety of Liefland, gave orders to the German bishops to induce a resumption of the crusades against the opponents of the Knights of the Sword, but as the port of Lubeck was blockaded by Waldemar, the Crusaders could not take their usual route to Liefland. The Pope with considerable difficulty persuaded the Danish king to allow a free passage to ships laden with pilgrims for Liefland. Honorius also despatched the Papal Legate, William of Modena, in 1234, to see what could be done for the defence of Liefland. The Legate soon became convinced that the small reinforcements which the Order now received would not suffice to maintain a sufficient force to defend the country, much less subdue the neighbouring heathen nations. He therefore advised the Master to send another deputation to Von Salza, who was then in Germany.

The condition of affairs in the North had been gradually undergoing a marked change in favour of the union of the two Orders. The power of Waldemar had been broken by land and sea, and he was but too willing to enter into a compromise with the Order. The Russians had, by the invasion of the Tartar Khan Batu, at the head of a vast army, been forced to forego their aggressive policy in

Liefland, in order to direct their entire energies to driving back the hordes of the invaders. Courland had embraced the Christian faith, and had made an alliance with the Order. In Prussia, the knights had already reduced to submission the Pomesanians and the Pogesanians. Von Salza, like a far-sighted statesman, now saw in the union of the two Orders that the Prussians could be attacked from two bases of operations, and that eventually the sea-board of all Prussia, and a large portion of the Baltic commerce, would fall into the hands of the knights. Accordingly, in the course of the year 1235, Von Salza despatched to Liefland the Comthur of Altenburg and his relative, Ehrenfried von Neuenburg, and Arnold von Dorf.

These, in conjunction with the representatives of the Order, thoroughly investigated the condition of affairs. In the spring of 1236 they returned by sea to Germany, accompanied by Johannes Salinger, Marshal of the Order, and two other Comthurs. On their arrival at Marburg, where they had to meet the Grand Master, they found he had returned to Italy, and that the Deutschmaster, Henry von Hohenlohe, was also absent. Ludwig von Oettingen thereupon summoned a Grand Chapter to hear what the deputation from Liefland had to say. No arrangements seem to have been made. Everything was postponed until the return of the Grand Master. The Knights of the Sword returned to Liefland, leaving Johannes von Magdeburg in Marburg.

As there was little prospect of Von Salza returning to Germany for the present, Ludwig von Oettingen, accompanied by Johannes von Magdeburg and three other knights, proceeded to Italy. Von Salza, availing himself of the mission which he undertook for the Emperor to the Pope, who was then at Viterbo, proceeded thither, accompanied by the knights, to consult the Pope as to the union of the two Orders. At the court they encountered two ambassadors from Waldemar, who had come to demand the restitution of Reval and the adjoining territory, and had also instructions to oppose the incorporation of the Knights of the Sword with the Teutonic Order. The Pope at first declined to sanction the union; but, in acknowledgment of the claims of Von Salza, undertook to mediate with the King of Denmark. But the news which shortly after reached the Pope from the Legate led him to regard the union of the two Orders in a far more favourable light, and at the same time to send instructions to the Legate to do his utmost to obtain reinforcements from North Germany.

By the Legate's endeavours a considerable force, under the command of the Count von Dannenberg and the Knight Dietrich von Haseldorf, arrived in Liefland. The Master, who had for some time been collecting all the available armed force in the country, now, in conjunction with his allies, invaded Lithuania. At first they met with no opposition, and penetrated into the interior of the country,

where they suddenly came upon a large army of Lithuanians, drawn up in order of battle on the banks of a river, on the 22nd of September, 1236, the *fête* day of St. Mauritius. The Master led on his army with words of encouragement, and also invoked the aid of St. Mauritius. Notwithstanding the superiority of the discipline and arms of the knights, the numerical superiority of the Lithuanians began to tell on the diminishing ranks of the knights. At length the gallant Bolquin resolved to make a final effort to turn the tide of fortune. Collecting around him his veteran warriors, he spurred gallantly forward to die or conquer. But the brave Bolquin was struck down by the blow of a club, and the corpses of forty knights, amongst them being Count von Dannenberg and Dietrich von Haseldorf, marked the spot where the gallant Master fell fighting. Upon the death of their leaders the rest of the army fled, hotly pursued by the Lithuanians, and only a few managed to escape.

On the receipt of the news of this terrible disaster, the Pope considered that the necessity of the union of the two Orders was so urgent that he resolved to postpone the consideration of the Danish claims. Hermann von Salza, at the request of the Pontiff, accompanied by two knights, proceeded to the Papal palace, and presented his companions to the Pope in the presence of the Patriarch of Antioch, the Archbishop of Bari, the Papal Marshal, Conrad

von Strasburg, and other high court functionaries. Then the Knights of the Sword having knelt down, the Pope granted them plenary absolution, released them from the oath of allegiance to their own Order, and admitted them into the brotherhood of the Teutonic Order, with an exhortation to fight valiantly as soldiers of Christ. This done, they took off the mantle of the Order of the Sword, and were invested with that of the Teutonic Knights. Hermann von Salza and the knights then proceeded to the court of the Emperor to receive the imperial ratification. About the end of March, 1237, the formal incorporation of the Knights of the Sword with the Teutonic Order was published, and the claims of the King of Denmark were settled by his receiving Reval, for which he was to make a pecuniary recompense to the knights.

The union of the two Orders being now accomplished, Hermann von Salza convoked a Grand Chapter to appoint the governor of Liefland, and also to consider the future relations between the Order and the Bishop of Riga. The Grand Master proposed Dietrich von Grüningen, a young and most promising knight of the Order; but his nomination was objected to on account of his youth, and it was finally agreed to despatch Hermann Balk as Master of Liefland, together with sixty knights and their retainers. Dietrich von Grüningen was also to accompany him, for the purpose of ultimately succeeding Balk. As regards the religious question,

the knights in Liefland had to acknowledge allegiance to the bishops; but they were under the immediate protection of the Pope, and it was expected that Von Salza's influence with the Pontiff would enable him to keep in check the ambitious designs of the bishops.

In 1237 Balk left Prussia for Liefland, but he still retained the office of Landmaster of Prussia, and was represented there by Hermann von Altenburg.

Luckily for the Master, William of Modena was still in Prussia; and, after having fraternized with the Brothers of the Sword, he and the Legate proceeded to the court of Waldemar; for that monarch, dissatisfied with the Pope's propositions, was fitting out a large armament for the reconquest of Reval. The negotiations continued until May of 1238, when a final arrangement was made. Waldemar received the castle of Reval and the districts of Harrien and Wirland, whilst the Order retained the province of Jerwen, on the condition that the knights were not to erect any fortifications without the consent of King Waldemar. Both parties promised to assist each other in their wars with the heathens; and should they conjointly acquire fresh territory, it was to be divided into three parts, two of which were to appertain to the King, and one to the knights. Waldemar's son, Erick, was a co-signatory to this treaty. The armament which Waldemar had been collecting for the conquest of Reval was

now directed against the Russians, who, under a celebrated leader, named Gerpold, had overrun the territory of the knights. The Danish army, commanded by Waldemar's two sons, Abel and Canute, joined the troops under Balk, who had been reinforced by a body of Crusaders under Count Adolf of Holstein, together with all the armed men that Bishop Hermann had been able to collect. Balk now assumed the supreme command, and invaded Russia. His first step was to attempt the capture of the stronghold of Iseburg, which he effected, the enemy losing 600 men. As the Russians did not oppose his progress, he advanced upon Pletzkow, which he besieged. The inhabitants, anticipating its capture by storm, and believing that resistance would be useless, tendered their unconditional submission. This example was followed by the inhabitants of the surrounding districts. Von Balk, after having strengthened the fortifications, and greatly increased the garrison, returned to Liefland. The Master now directed his entire attention to the internal affairs of the country. One of the principal causes of the constant revolts of the natives was the unbridled power which the higher class of ecclesiastics exercised over their native vassals. With the assistance of William of Modena many of these evils were redressed, and several useful reforms were introduced, especially the establishment of courts of justice and schools. In the midst of these labours Balk was obliged to

return to Prussia, where his representative, Hermann von Altenburg, had been steadfastly attempting to undo all his measures of conciliation.

We have before seen how the Prussians had secretly returned to their former religion. Von Altenburg was a man of the most austere morals, but one of those religious fanatics who believed that every conceivable means for the conversion of the heathens, or for the destruction of heathenism, was justifiable. Having been informed of the backsliding of the natives, he adopted most harsh and unwarrantable means for ascertaining and punishing the offenders. He had caused several of them to be executed; and at last, having heard that the inhabitants of a certain village had publicly acknowledged their apostasy, and that their priests openly performed heathen ceremonies amongst them, he ordered the village to be surrounded and set on fire, allowing no one to escape.

This diabolical act of religious fanaticism having soon become known throughout Prussia, the knights lost all support from the native population, and in their excursions behaved with far more barbarity than when under the command of Von Balk. About this time Von Altenburg determined to carry out Balk's plan for the subjugation of Ermland and Natangen. It was first necessary to obtain possession of some fortress on the frontier of the enemy's territory for the purpose of protecting the lines of communication. Accordingly the knights

proceeded in two ships on Lake Drausen, through the Frische Haff, until they reached the Prussian burg of Honeida, on the banks of Lake Binnen. They landed, but soon found they had not a sufficient force to capture it. They therefore commenced plundering and burning the neighbouring villages. The inhabitants of the country then collected in considerable numbers, and, being joined by the garrison, suddenly surprised the knights, who were scattered in various directions in search of plunder, and were nearly all killed. Only those escaped who had been left behind in guard of the ships.

The aggressive policy of the Order, and their cruel conduct to the natives, had brought about a coolness between Swantepol and the knights. Up to the conquest of Pogesania the Pomeranian prince had been the staunchest friend of the Order, and there can be but little doubt that no man was more desirous of the development of the Christian religion among the surrounding people than he was. Many of his subjects had been maltreated for their supposed sympathy with the Prussian refugees. It also became apparent to him that, by the incorporation of the three Orders, the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights would be the most powerful potentate of the North, and that, as a matter of course, he and his neighbouring fellow Christian rulers would become mere vassals of the Order. Accordingly, for the mere purpose of inducing the

knights to exercise more humanity to the natives, and prevent his authority being overshadowed by the Order, he sought an alliance with Casimir of Cujavia, with Duke Wladislaus, and Spier, ruler of Great Poland. Such a coalition would enable these princes to take a decisive course in the affairs of Prussia in general.

It was in the midst of this unsatisfactory state of things that Von Balk returned to Prussia. Swantepol was at that time engaged in war with Henry of Breslau, who had applied for assistance from the Order. Balk seized this favourable opportunity to become reconciled with Swantepol, and an arrangement was formally made at Swetz, on the Vistula, by which Swantepol vowed eternal friendship to the Order on the part of himself and his successors, and that he would neither make war nor peace without the approbation of the knights; also that should he break his covenant he would submit to be excommunicated by the Pope until he had given satisfaction to the Grand Master. A similar arrangement was afterwards come to with the Duke of Cujavia. Before Balk could commence the reconciliation between the natives and the knights, he received an order from Hermann von Salza to repair immediately to Germany, in order to be present at a General Chapter which was to be held prior to the Grand Master's departure for the Emperor Henry's army in Italy. Balk accordingly appointed Frederick von Fuchsberg, a man of energy and experience, to

carry out his orders. For the purpose of avoiding disunion among the knights he took with him Hermann von Altenburg into Germany. It would seem that Frederick von Fuchsberg either died or resigned his office shortly after his appointment, and was succeeded by Berlewin as Vice-Landmaster.

Great doubt exists amongst the writers of this period as to whether Von Balk reached Germany in time to meet the Grand Master, who left for Italy in July, 1238. Von Salza was then in a very delicate state of health. At Verona he met the Emperor, who welcomed him with the greatest warmth and sympathy, but his broken health soon became so precarious that he was obliged in August to repair to Salerno, for the purpose of placing himself under the care of the celebrated college of physicians in that city. He lingered on until March, 1239, when he died, and his corpse was conveyed with great solemnity to Barletto, in Apulia, where it was interred in the chapel belonging to the Order.

Hermann von Salza was doubtless the most consummate statesman of his time, for no man understood better than he how to defend the temporal power of his Imperial patron from the attacks of the Papacy. When he became Grand Master, the Order was in its infancy, but by steadfastly adhering to the cause of the Emperor and the real interest of the Christian faith, he made it one of the most powerful bodies in Europe, and by his care and intelligence the spirit of union was

everywhere apparent in the numerous establishments of the knights all over Europe. In the war against the Turks he had displayed the talents of a first-rate general, and continued up to his death the military adviser of the Emperor. Even the Pope did not consider it beneath his dignity to constantly ask his advice on the most important affairs of the Papacy.

Meanwhile Hermann Balk had arrived in Germany to take part in the discussion of the Grand Chapter at Marburg, which was about to be held in the absence of the Grand Master, but, unfortunately, he died shortly after his arrival.* Had he survived Von Salza he would have been, without doubt, unanimously elected as his successor, for he was in every respect worthy of that high dignity. Thus the Order lost the services of two of its greatest men. Bishop Christian, considering this a fitting moment to renew his disputes with the Order, addressed to the Pope a long list of complaints. They amounted to this, that the knights would not assist him in carrying out his favourite plan of converting the heathens by force; that they had excited his vassals to acts of disobedience; that they treated his priests with disrespect, and, lastly, that they did not live a pure and religious life.

* On the same day that Hermann von Salza died the Pope again solemnly excommunicated Frederick, and left no stone unturned in his endeavours to bring about an intestine war in Germany. He addressed a most menacing letter to the Teutonic Knights, in which he threatened to excommunicate them if they did not at once break off all connexion with the Emperor.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1240—1245.

Conrad von Thüringen elected Grand Master—Capture of Honeida, Balga (1240)—Attempted Recapture of Balga—Development of the Resources of the Country by German Settlers—Discontent among the Prussians—Total Defeat of the Tartars at the Battle of Liegnitz (1241)—Death of Conrad von Thüringen—Gerhard von Malberg elected Grand Master—Duke Swantepol declares War—Invasion of Culm—Capture of Sardowitz—Head of the Holy Barbara—Innocent IV. becomes Pope (1243)—Preaching of fresh Crusade—Peace between Swantepol and the Knights—Renewal of Hostilities—Battle at Lake Rensen—Siege of Culm—Gerhard von Malberg resigns—Henry von Hohenlohe appointed Grand Master (1244)—Poppo von Osterna becomes Landmaster—Defence of Elbing—Capture of Christburg—Surprise and Defeat of Swantepol's Army before Swetz.

THE death of two such able and experienced men as Hermann von Salza and Hermann Balk, almost at the same time, was a great loss to the knights, who now again determined to elect some member of the Order, of noble family, closely connected with the Princes of Germany, as it was evident that the

family influence of Von Salza throughout Europe had greatly contributed to the increase of the importance of the Order. They therefore proceeded to elect Conrad von Thüringen Grand Master. He was the son of the Landgrave Hermann I., who was a great patron of literature, especially poetry. His brother was the Landgrave Ludwig the Pious, husband of St. Elizabeth. Conrad entered the Order with Dietrich von Grüningen and twenty other friends in the year 1234, and presented his entire domains to it. Immediately after he took up his residence in an establishment of the Order at Marburg.

The following episodes will give the reader some idea of the charactor of the new Grand Master. He was by nature a man inclined to extremes, and although very religious was strongly opposed to the hierarchical pretensions of the priests.

The Archbishop of Mentz was greatly encumbered by the debts incurred by his predecessor, and for the purpose of extricating himself he levied a very heavy contribution on all his clergy; but amongst them was the Abbot of Reinhartsbronn, whose abbey had been freed from all priestly imposts by the forefathers of Conrad. The abbot, therefore, on refusing to pay the contribution, was excommunicated by the Archbishop and was sentenced to be whipped on the bare back for three succeeding days in the Archbishop's presence.

The unfortunate abbot had undergone two castigations, and during the third ordeal Conrad entered the church. So exasperated was he at the spectacle of the aged abbot kneeling with bare back before the Archbishop, while the priests were in the act of flogging him, that he rushed to the altar, felled the Archbishop to the ground, and would have run him through with his sword had he not been prevented by the bystanders. For this Conrad was himself excommunicated, and in revenge waged a regular war against the Archbishop, committing terrible depredations in the districts in the vicinity of Fritzlar, the suburbs of which he destroyed. Repulsed in his attempt to storm the town, he was about to retreat, but the sight of a number of women on the walls bidding him defiance so excited his anger that he renewed the attack and captured the town, assisted by the mercenary freebooter, Frederick von Treffurt. The result was that the monasteries, churches, and houses were completely pillaged and set on fire, while most of the inhabitants fell victims either to the sword or the flames. Afterwards, in 1232, he was compelled to take refuge with some of his choice companions in his castle of Tenneberg, near Gotha. While there one day he met a woman of bad repute in the courtyard of the castle, whom he violently rebuked for her immoral life. In a shower of tears, the unfortunate creature excused herself by stating that she had been driven to sin to avoid starvation. This made

such an impression upon Conrad that he not only made a provision for her for life, but went to his companions, Hartmann von Heldrungen and Dietrich von Grüningen, to whom he depicted in lively colours the story of the poor woman and the sinful life they had been leading. His companions, inspired with the same spirit of contrition, proceeded with him barefooted to the church at Gladback, in Hesse, to confess their sins and do penance. They were told that the only means to obtain absolution was by entering the Teutonic Order.

Conrad von Thüringen, whose conscience was burdened by the crimes he had committed in Fritzlar, repaired to the ruins of that town. Here, on his bare knees, he prayed for the forgiveness of the passers-by, offering to make good all the losses which he had inflicted, and he patiently allowed a woman to flog him on his bare shoulders. Not satisfied with this, he repaired to Rome, where the Pontiff refused to give him absolution before he had become reconciled with his opponents and made amends for the injuries he had inflicted. He was also enjoined to rebuild the cloister of Fritzlar, to submit himself to the Archbishop of Mentz, and finally to enter the Teutonic Order.

At the election of Conrad von Thüringen as Grand Master, Henry von Wida was made Landmaster of Prussia, and Dietrich von Grüningen became Master of Liefland.

We now return to the events which had been taking place in Prussia. The Marshal of the Order, Dietrich von Bernheim, determined to avenge the slaughter of the knights in the vicinity of Honeida. With this intention, having collected all his available force, he sailed to a spot near the scene of the destruction of the first expedition, for the purpose of attacking the fort by sea and land; while the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages sought refuge in the dense woods. To prevent a surprise the Marshal surrounded his positions with bowmen, and then commenced a regular siege. The garrison was commanded by a celebrated warrior, named Kodrune. As soon as the knights attempted to scale the walls, the garrison made such a violent onslaught upon them from various parts of the burg, that they were driven back. The garrison then, finding that starvation stared them in the face, sent their leader to the camp of the knights to treat for a capitulation. Dietrich demanded that the garrison should embrace the Christian faith, after which they might retire unmolested from the fortress. On his return to the castle the governor communicated these conditions to the garrison, and on his advising them to accept them, he was accused of treachery and killed. Dietrich after a short time took the castle by storm, and its defenders were either killed or taken prisoners. The fort had until this time been considered impregnable, as it was surrounded by marshy ground and was only connected with the mainland

by a bridge. The Marshal did his utmost to strengthen the works, and left in the fort a sufficient garrison to keep the adjoining country in order. It now received the name of Balga. The news of the loss of Honeida, however, excited the natives of the country to such a degree that they rose *en masse*, and with their great chieftain, Piopso advanced to recapture the fort, but all their attempts were fruitless, and their brave leader, Piopso, fell in a bold attempt to take the place by assault.

In order to keep open the communication with the mainland, the knights now commenced the erection of a series of strong forts. At this crisis the Warmier, under the leadership of the brothers Gobatine, came to the assistance of the Prussians. They determined to force the surrender of the garrison of Balga by cutting off the supplies of the knights from the mainland. This they did by erecting two fortifications, but, through the treachery of a converted Prussian, the knights were able to communicate with their friends, and with Otho, Duke of Brunswick and Lüneburg, who came to the assistance of the Order. These being informed of their approach made a sortie against the Prussians, who, finding themselves attacked both in front and rear, fled in wild confusion. The works they had erected fell into the hands of the Germans. The knights, with the assistance of the Duke of Brunswick,

now acquired possession of the greater part of Natangen and Barterland, where they erected several forts, and refortified those which fell into their hands.

All this work was for the most part achieved by the men whom Duke Otho of Brunswick had brought with him. In 1240 he returned home, leaving with the Order all his munitions of war, together with a large number of horses. He also persuaded many of his followers either to take service under the knights or to settle in the towns as mechanics; and the prosperity of these settlers induced many others to follow their example, bringing with them their wives and children. In order to increase the population of those districts which had been desolated by the war, villages were given as fiefs to German nobles who came to Prussia, on condition of their repopulating them with their countrymen. By these means a large amount of territory was broken up and brought into cultivation. Naturally enough, the Prussians regarded these settlers as the plunderers of their patrimony, and availed themselves of every opportunity of secretly hindering the development of Germanism, and they did not scruple to commit acts of violence on the settlers, who on their part treated the Prussians as inferior beings. This compelled the proprietors to turn their abodes into regular burgs, for the purpose of protecting themselves and their vassals. One of the principal

causes of the ill-feeling of the natives was the way in which they were persecuted on the slightest suspicion of their still adhering to their old religion. Most of the pilgrims were fanatical zealots, and they naturally regarded anything akin to heathenism as an utter abomination; and many Prussians were frightfully tortured on account of their refusing to be baptized. All this had but one result, viz., the secret determination of the Prussians to throw off the hated yoke of the foreigner on the first opportunity.

Another danger now arose. The Moguls, after having conquered China, commenced moving towards the West. In 1235 they made their first appearance in Russia, where they remained up to 1240, plundering and destroying whatever they could find. In the year just mentioned they overran the plains of Poland, and in the beginning of 1241 they advanced as far as the Vistula, and reduced the city of Cracow to ruins.

The fear of the invasion of the Moguls, and the dissatisfaction of the Prussians, now induced the Landmaster to cause the erection of strongholds along the frontiers, and in those parts of Prussia which were weakly defended. The want of labour compelled the Landmaster to employ the Prussians on the works, where they were most harshly treated, and received no remuneration for the work. They were in fact driven from their homes like

herds of cattle to the points where their labour was required. This unwarrantable act was in direct violation of the conditions which their conquerors had guaranteed them on their tendering their submission. No excuse can be made for the knigdts, because they had ample funds at their command for remunerating their labourers. The effect of this was, that the Prussians believed the knights intended using them in future as common serfs; and knowing that Swantepol had on a former occasion exerted himself on their behalf, they determined to appeal to him in their distress. The Duke in vain interceded in their behalf. He then advised the Prussians to send a deputation to Rome for the purpose of seeking the Papal mediation.

Conrad von Thüringen, on hearing of this, proceeded to Rome to prevent Gregory from interfering in the affairs of the Order. The Grand Master had some time previously been summoned to appear before the Pontiff, to give information with reference to the claims of supremacy which the Knights of St. John declared they possessed over the Teutonic Order, on account of the establishment of St. Mary at Jerusalem having been given over to their protection by a former Pope, some hundred years before. Gregory himself had instigated the Knights of St. John to bring forward this absurd pretension, although he knew that Pope Celestine and the Emperor had declared, on the

foundation of the Teutonic Order, that it was an independent brotherhood. Shortly after his arrival the Grand Master was seized by a violent illness, and died July the 21st, 1241. His last injunction to his friend, the Abbot of Haina, was that he should be buried in the chapel of St. Elizabeth, at Marburg, where a magnificent tomb was erected to his memory. Pope Gregory IX. did not long survive Conrad, for he died August the 21st, and was succeeded by Celestine IV., who also died within a month afterwards. It was during this interregnum that the envoys of the Prussians arrived in Rome, and the cardinals and courtiers, who feared the anger of the Emperor, declined to take any cognizance of the matter.

The onward progress of the Tartars, who had overrun Masovia and Cujavia, and had made their appearance in Silesia, induced the Landmaster, Henry von Wida, to collect all his available forces to defend the frontiers of Prussia; but the success of the King of Bohemia and Duke Henry of Breslau at the battle of Liegnitz, in which the Tartars were totally defeated and fled in wild confusion, enabled the knights to direct their attention to assuage the internal discontent of their oppressed subjects. But they had already gone too far, and the Prussians determined on the destruction of the Order.

Towards the end of the year 1241, a Grand Chapter was held under the Presidency of Dietrich von Grüningen, in which Gerhard von Malberg was

elected Grand Master, probably on account of the favour with which he was regarded by the Emperor. He was a widower, and had entered the Order on account of the loss of his wife. Some time after his appointment he was despatched by the Emperor, in company with the Archbishop of Bari and the Magister Roger Porcastrello, to bring about something like union amongst the cardinals, so that the Pope might be elected. In this they were totally unsuccessful. About the same time that the new Grand Master was elected, Bishop Christian ended his eventful career — a remarkable man, who, although at first a firm supporter of the Order, became subsequently, as we have seen, one of its most deadly opponents.

The affairs of Prussia were now every day assuming a more alarming appearance. The Landmaster, Henry von Wida, had, for the purpose of protecting Balga and Elbing, built several armed vessels. In the meanwhile the Papal Legate came to Prussia for the purpose of regulating the dioceses of the bishopric; and Swantepol had an interview with the Legate relative to the conduct of the knights towards the Prussians. The Legate appears to have appeased him. A short time afterwards the Duke had an interview with the Landmaster, in which a violent dispute took place on account of Swantepol interfering with the internal affairs of the subjugated territory. It ended in Von Wida's grossly insulting the Duke, who immediately de-

clared war against the Order. After this his first act was to direct the commandants of the strongholds on the Vistula to prevent the passage of all ships belonging to the knights, and he immediately opened negotiations with those Prussian tribes who still remained independent, and who joyfully offered him every possible assistance. The news led to a general rising of the oppressed population. Swantepol and his allies in a very short time reduced the knights to such straits, that they only had Balga and Elbing in the high country left, and all their castles and their supplies of provisions were cut off. Swantepol now advanced into the Culm districts, where he was completely victorious, and 4,000 Germans lost their lives in different engagements. He also carried away a considerable number of captives. The only towns that now remained in the hands of the knights, in the province of Culm, were Culm, Thorn, and Rheden. At last the knights seem to have been able to turn the tide of fortune. Dietrich von Berheim, the Marshal of the Order, with four knights and twenty-four retainers captured by a night surprise the stronghold of Sardowitz, the strongest fortress on the west bank of the Vistula, on the 4th of December, 1241, where they found a considerable amount of treasure, together with the head of the holy Barbara, which Swantepol had acquired in his war with Saxony. This was carried off with great pomp to Culm, where it remained for 200 years.

The legend of St. Barbara may here be briefly told as a slight diversion in the midst of so much bloodshed. Legend reports that Barbara was the daughter of an Egyptian noble and in secret a Christian. She refused to marry, for which reason her father incarcerated her in a high tower with only two windows, so that she might make a third in honour of the Holy Trinity. In her loneliness she is said to have been visited by angels, one of whom taught her astronomy as well as why the tower was built. Her father, determined that she should marry, threatened her with death if she still refused to do so. Barbara thought of flight, and as she was meditating on the best means of carrying out her object, the tower imperceptibly bent itself, so as to enable her to step from the window on to the ground. She then took to flight, but the enraged father pursued and brought her before a merciless judge, who ordered that her flesh should be torn from her bones. This was done, but in the night the Saviour appeared and again covered her bones with flesh, and she became the most beautiful maiden of her country. She now became celebrated for the great miracles which she performed. The stream in which she bathed formed itself into the shape of a cross, symbolizing the four streams of Paradise. With her tender fingers she impressed pillars of marble with the holy cross as if they had only been potters' clay. Numerous other wonders are recorded of her; and the influence she exerted upon those

around her was such that her persecutors at last put her to death by the comparatively easy way of decapitation. After she was beheaded, however, the coffin containing her remains was sunk in the Nile, which immediately rose and flooded the entire country. Thereupon the coffin and its contents were taken from the bed of the river, which then confined itself to its accustomed banks. It would seem that the skull was brought to Rome, and afterwards fell into the possession of the Duke of Pomerania, destined eventually to become the property of the Teutonic Knights.

At the end of 1242 Swantepol, having collected a large force, crossed the Vistula, and laid siege to Sardowitz, which was defended by the Knight Conrad von Reineck, with a garrison of 200 men. After a siege of seven weeks, Swantepol, having several times unsuccessfully attempted to storm the place, recrossed the Vistula, leaving only a small force to watch the garrison. With his main army he proceeded to lay waste the territory of Culm. The old Marshal Dietrich, on being reinforced by auxiliaries sent by Conrad, Duke of Masovia, attacked the army of Swantepol. A fierce battle ensued, in which Swantepol was worsted and his army dispersed, with a loss of 900 men, and all the plunder he had made. The Duke now recrossed the Vistula, and, having rejoined the small army before Sardowitz, retreated to his own country.

On the 29th of August, 1243, the Landmaster, Henry von Wida, contracted an offensive and defensive alliance with the Duke of Masovia, and Dukes Sambor and Ratibor, brothers of Swantepol. Both parties engaged to assist one another against their mutual enemies, and not to conclude a peace or truce without the consent of all contracting parties, under penalty of being excommunicated by the Pope. The Bishop of Cujavia was declared arbiter and referee by both parties. This alliance arose from the fear that Swantepol, Duke of Pomerania, intended exciting a general revolt amongst the Prussians.

The power and influence of the Order were now further promoted by the accession of Cardinal Fiesco to the Papal Chair, in June, 1243, under the title of Innocent IV. As Cardinal he had been a warm supporter of the Emperor Frederick and of the Teutonic Order, and on being elected Pope he at once despatched the Legate, William of Modena, who had been in Rome since the spring of the year, to organize a fresh crusade against the heathens of Prussia, in conjunction with the Teutonic Knights. The Pope also sent a decree to all the priors and mendicant brothers to preach the crusade in Bohemia, Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, offering the same privileges and immunities as those granted to pilgrims to Jerusalem, and promising to take under his protection the families and property of all those who should join the

crusade. The Pontiff also exhibited his devotion to the Order by presenting the apostolic ring to the Grand Master, Gerhard von Malberg, which gift was considered equivalent to the presentation of Prussia to the Order as a fief of Rome, in consideration of which the knights undertook to grant a yearly tribute to the Pope.

This new crusade had a great influence on the circumstances and position of the knights. Duke Swantepol, who cherished a feeling of revenge for his late defeat, began now to fear that the Papal Legate would succeed in exciting the nobles to make common cause against him, which, if successful, would probably cause him to lose all his territory. He accordingly made overtures for peace, which were accepted, and a treaty was concluded, at the commencement of the year 1243, by which the Order on its part agreed not to declare war against the heathens without first asking his advice, and that the Prussians should enjoy similar privileges to those of the Germans. The knights engaged to restore to Swantepol all the territory and towns which they had seized, with the exception of the stronghold of Sardowitz, which they retained as a pledge. On the other hand, Duke Swantepol gave as hostages his eldest son Mestwin, the Burgrave of Dantzic, and several other nobles of the land, and made a solemn oath that he would assist the knights in all their contests with the heathens. The treaty was solemnly ratified and confirmed by the ducal

seal; and thereupon all prisoners of war were restored, among whom were seventy ladies of noble families. This peace enabled the Papal Legate to assemble a Synod at Thorn, in which Prussia was formed into the four bishoprics, Culm, Pomesania, Ermland, and Samland, the last mentioned being a province not yet conquered. Each province was to be divided into three districts. The bishop should, either by choice or lottery, receive one of the districts, in which he would have complete control. In the two remaining portions the knights were to exercise all secular authority. In case of any dispute arising between the knights and the bishops, their differences were to be settled by arbiters selected by the disputants; and they were bound never to give any support to the enemies of the Christian faith.

The new peace was, however, of but short duration. Duke Swantepol, as soon as there was no longer immediate danger from a combination of the allies of the Order, began to thirst for revenge, and longed for some pretext for recommencing hostilities. He accordingly entered into a close alliance with his neighbours, the Dukes Wratislaus and Barnim of Border Pomerania, and with his son-in-law, Prince Jaromar of Rugen. The knights, on the other hand, were not ignorant of Swantepol's designs, and refused to give up the castle of Sardowitz or the hostages at the time stipulated in the treaty. The distrust and ill-feeling between

the Order and the Duke could no longer be disguised, and the latter only sought a favourable opportunity to renew hostilities. Circumstances soon favoured his intentions.

Duke Boleslaus of Poland, who had some years before been driven out of his territory of Cracow by Duke Conrad of Masovia, returned in 1243 from Hungary with a large force, and, having overpowered the troops of the Duke of Masovia, resumed the possession of the country. Thereupon Conrad collected a large army of warlike hordes of Galinder, Sudauer, Lithuanians, and Samogitians, at the head of whom he invaded and overran the province of Cracow. As Conrad, Duke of Masovia, and Casimir, Duke of Cujavia, were still steadfast allies of the Order, the Prussians determined to revenge themselves by invading Masovia during Conrad's absence in Cracow. Accordingly, various hordes having collected and combined, they penetrated into Masovia, committing frightful excesses and causing havoc and destruction in all directions. Duke Swantepol, regardless of his oath, of his son and the other hostages still in the hands of the knights, placed himself at the head of a considerable body of Lithuanians and Sudauer, and advanced into the province of Culm, devastating the country by fire and sword.*

* According to some accounts, it was owing to the knights themselves that hostilities were renewed. A noble Prussian, Markon by name, a great friend of the Order, died intestate; and thereupon

Swantepol's troops gave themselves up to plunder and rapine, and reduced the district almost to a wilderness. The unfortunate inhabitants took refuge in the strongholds of Thorn, Rheden, and Culm. This sudden invasion was so unexpected that the knights were quite unprepared to arrest its progress. As the troops of Crusaders which had assembled in 1243 and in the spring of 1244 were quartered in Cujavia, in a state of inactivity, it was at once resolved to direct them to cross the Vistula by Thorn, in order to oppose the onward march of Duke Swantepol's victorious army. Swantepol, however, evaded his opponents and appeared before Culm, where he in vain endeavoured to induce the garrison to attack him. Finding his efforts fruitless, he retired from Culm and proceeded in the direction of Graudenz, but, his troops being much fatigued, he halted for the night near Lake Rensen, now known as Rondsen, in the vicinity of fort Rheden, and not far from the Vistula. His route to Graudenz lay through a country broken by marshes, woods, and rivulets, and very favourable for surprise. Berlewin, who was now Marshal, collected a force of about 400 knights and their

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his entire property was taken possession of by the knights, in defiance of the protests of the relatives, who, finding they could not obtain redress, sought the assistance of the warlike tribe of the Sudauer, and seized Kargei, the castle of Markon, and several houses on the estate.

retainers, and gave orders to the garrison at Thorn to join him as quickly as possible. He in the mean time followed the Duke.

At a council of war the old Marshal, Dietrich von Grüningen, proposed that before attacking they should await the arrival of the troops from Thorn, and that after the advanced body was on its route they should simultaneously attack the rear. In this he was overruled, and it was determined that the army of the knights should make a flank movement, so as to attack the enemy in front as they were deploying from their encampments. In this they were successful, but the vanguard of Swantepol's army, having managed to penetrate through the forests, suddenly attacked the knights, who had expected that they would advance by the same route as their comrades. A desperate struggle ensued, but as a large number of the knights had little or no experience in Prussian warfare, having only lately joined the Order, their impetuosity and want of discipline led to their destruction. The old Marshal and all his knights were slain, together with 400 squires only ten escaped to tell the tale of this frightful and overwhelming defeat.

At the conclusion of the battle the detachment of Thorn, consisting of 200 knights and their retainers, made their appearance; but finding that with such inferior numbers it was impossible to renew the engagement, they retreated rapidly to Thorn, hotly pursued by the Prussians, who inflicted upon them

a heavy loss. The territory of the knights was thus entirely at the mercy of the conqueror.

Swantepol now determined to follow up his success by capturing Culm, where his son Mestwin and the other hostages were confined; but on his appearance the women, putting on the armour of their deceased husbands and friends, defended the place with daring intrepidity, and, being joined by the Bishop of Culm with a considerable force, compelled the besiegers to retire. So great was the slaughter of the knights and their retainers, that the Bishop of Culm, fearing that the country would become depopulated, called upon the widows at once to remarry, by which they would immediately become absolved from all their sins. The good women, it appears, were not slow to comply with this order. Of one of these sorrowing widows, Uda by name, it is told that on her way to church she espied a fine young man, "fresh and of good colour," and directed her maid to invite him to her house; but another widow happening to come up, and taking a fancy to the same young man, the marriage was arranged before widow Uda returned from her devotions.

Swantepol, having received a reinforcement of 2,000 men, now again made his appearance, and for several days the wretched country of Culm was given up to plunder and rapine. The knights, however, having collected all their available forces from the various garrisons, suddenly surprised Swantepol's

troops, who had dispersed in different directions. The Duke, with his usual determination, offered a most stubborn resistance with the few men he had managed to rally round him, but was compelled to fly to the spot where his fleet was anchored; and as, unfortunately, a violent storm had driven the ships from their anchorage, it was with the utmost difficulty that he and two or three of his followers escaped across the Vistula in a small canoe. The rest either fell by the sword or perished in attempting to swim to the vessels. In this battle the knights fought with unparalleled bravery, for had they been defeated all their territory would have fallen into the hands of Swantepol. The victory, however, had been dearly purchased, for the knights were so reduced in numbers that they had to forego crossing the Vistula to follow up their success. At a council of war which was held at Culm, a well-known brother of the Order, named Rabe von Rheden, presided. He advised that Mestwin should be at once sent to the court of Frederick of Austria, and that until they had received reinforcements and the arrival of the Landmaster, they should remain on the defensive. In the mean time it was resolved that some of the brothers should be despatched to Germany and to the Papal Court to obtain reinforcements.

We now return to events which took place in Germany and Italy. Gerhard von Malberg had, it appears, gained for himself the dislike of many of the brothers, although he had obtained on their

behalf from the Pope many relaxations from their former severe statutes with reference to diet and costume. It was at his instance also that the Pope had issued a Pastoral ordering the prelates to be more humble in their pretensions with regard to the Order. Shortly after the flight of the Pope to Lyons in June, 1244, Von Malberg proceeded to Palestine, either for the purpose of preventing an inquiry into his conduct or to regain his lost popularity. Nevertheless, a Chapter was held, and a deputation was sent to Von Malberg, who had taken up his residence at the castle of Montfort in Palestine, calling upon him to give up the seals of office. This he at first did, but shortly afterwards resumed his dignity, and despatched a protest to the Pope at Lyons, who ordered an inquiry into his conduct. The committee who were entrusted with this were unanimous in their opinion that Gerhard had, by his general conduct and indifference to the interests of the Order, rendered himself unfit for the post of Grand Master. Hereupon Gerhard and some of his companions were allowed by the Pope to enter the Order of Templars. A Grand Chapter was now held to elect a new Grand Master, and to settle the line of policy which the knights were to pursue towards the Emperor and the Pope; the Landmaster of Prussia, Henry von Wida, being summoned to take part in the proceedings. In this Chapter Henry von Hohenlohe, Deutschmaster, son of Count Godfrey von Hohenlohe, was elected

Grand Master. It was also determined in council to adhere as much as possible to the interest of the House of Austria.

Hohenlohe had been appointed Deutschmaster by Hermann von Salza. He entered the Order in 1220, previously to which he had bestowed upon it several valuable estates, together with the town of Mergentheim. His family had always been strong supporters of the Order. It appears that at this Chapter Henry von Wida resigned his office as Landmaster, on account of the knights refusing to ratify an arrangement which he had made with the town of Lubeck. In the years 1239 and 1240 Dietrich von Grüningen and Henry von Wida offered to give the town of Lubeck the right of erecting a free town at the mouth of the Pregel, together with a portion of Samland, Withland, and Warmien, if the inhabitants would assist them in the conquest of Samland. This was done to prevent their joining Swantepol. Consenting to this, the Lubeckers sent a considerable force to Liefland, which invaded the country and defeated the Samlanders, but they were unable to obtain a footing in their country, as they did not receive sufficient support from the Order. The principal captives and hostages were taken to Lubeck, where they were solemnly baptized and afterwards sent back to their own country for the purpose of spreading the Christian religion. In this attempt they were unsuccessful, but they and their families became the

greatest friends of the Order. The successor of Henry Von Wida in the post of Landmaster was Poppo von Osterna, who was one of the knights that accompanied the first expedition to Prussia. His father was Count von Wertheim or Osterna, and descended from one of the most ancient and noblest families of Franconia. He was a man of considerable ability, and from his residence in Prussia was well acquainted with the country and its inhabitants. He started early in the spring of 1244, at the head of a considerable force. Frederick, Duke of Austria, who was then organizing an expedition to Prussia which he intended leading in person, despatched thirty of his most celebrated cross-bow men to assist him. On the news of the arrival of these reinforcements reaching Swantepol, he made overtures of peace, which were accepted, and a treaty similar to the former one was ratified. This led to the break-up of Frederick's expedition, and the Pope, believing in the continuance of peace, despatched the celebrated monk Dominick to preach the Gospel to the heathens.

After the ratification of the Treaty, Duke Swantepol demanded his son to be set free, which it appears the knights had promised to do; but they now declined, and Swantepol determined to effect his object by attacking their ally, Duke Casimir of Cujavia, whose territory he invaded, and, after having seized a considerable amount of booty and captives, returned to his country. The

knights protested against this outrage, but the Pomeranian Duke refused to cease hostilities against Casimir, unless they delivered up to him his son. On the refusal of the knights, Swantepol recommenced increasing the strength of the fortress of Zantir, on the island of the same name, situated at the junction of the Nogat with the Vistula.

In order to counteract the loss of Sardowitz, the works of Swetz were strengthened, so as to recover the command of the Vistula. The knights having informed the Pope, Innocent IV., of Swantepol's conduct, the Pontiff, on the 1st of February, addressed to him a very threatening letter. In this he was reproved in the most severe manner for his presumption and ungodly conduct in attacking those who had been placed under the special protection of the successors of St. Peter; and the Duke was ordered at once to discontinue his hostile conduct, on the pain of excommunication. The Pope also despatched a letter to the Archbishop of Gnesen, in which he was directed to have the Duke of Pomerania publicly excommunicated in all towns, villages, and churches, if he should not within the space of fourteen days obey the Papal orders.

Pope Innocent sent a hundred knights and retainers from Germany to assist the Order. Frederick also despatched assistance. One of the best traits of Innocent's character was his uniform

conduct towards the Order, notwithstanding his quarrel with Frederick; for at the great Council which he assembled at Lyons, amongst those who represented the Emperor was the Grand Master, Hohenlohe. For the purpose of postponing hostilities, the knights restored Sardowitz to Swantepol, as also his brother Sambor. His son Mestwin was, however, still kept prisoner in Culm. It is due to Swantepol to state that, from all we can learn, there is little doubt that the knights, when they concluded the last treaty, undertook to surrender Sardowitz and all the hostages. The non-compliance with the release of Mestwin induced Swantepol to continue his armaments. The Landmaster, Poppo, despatched some brothers to Hohenlohe, urging upon him the necessity of the Pope ordering a fresh crusade against the Prussians. In compliance with their desire, Innocent at once ordered the Archbishop of Mentz to preach a crusade, with the usual indulgences. He also despatched similar instructions to the prelates of Germany, Liefland, and Poland. Before the crusade was commenced, Innocent sent the pious abbot of the monastery of Mezano, as Legate, to do his utmost to bring about a reconciliation between the Order and Swantepol. Poppo von Osterna, however, who had by this time collected a sufficient force to recommence hostilities, determined not to forego this favourable opportunity of bringing Swantepol to submission. He therefore despatched information to the Legate

to the effect that his mission of peace to Prussia was useless, as Swantepol was determined on war. The Legate thereupon commenced preaching a regular crusade against Swantepol through all the parts of Germany which he traversed, and his example was followed by the Bishops in Bohemia, Hungary, and Poland. By this skilful device, Poppo von Osterna could reckon on sufficient reinforcements for two years, as the Crusaders generally left the country after a twelve months' service. The Landmaster commenced the campaign by organizing an attack on Swantepol's army, which was then encamped close to Swetz. His plan was as follows:—One force, which he collected at Culm, was to proceed by water to Swetz; another, chiefly composed of cavalry, was to advance along the banks of the Vistula. Both forces were to attack the enemy simultaneously from two different points.

Swantepol, on seeing the approach of the flotilla, destroyed the bridge communicating with Swetz, and took up a position with the greater part of his army on a rising ground, from which he could observe the movements of the two bodies operating against him. It soon became evident that the enemy, foiled in their plan of attack by his changing his position, were now attempting to effect a junction, which, however, the depth of the stream Bda prevented. The Duke, therefore, determined to attack each force separately. Perceiving that

the Landmaster was making preparations for attacking Swetz, he at once restored the bridge across the stream, and reinforced the garrison with 300 men. Having effected this, he retreated to his former commanding position.

The Landmaster and the Duke of Cujavia now simultaneously attempted to storm the castle; but, after having lost a considerable number of men, they deemed it prudent to recross the Vistula. This to a great extent placed the command of the river in the hands of Swantepol. Von Osterna, fearing that the Pomeranian Duke would again besiege Culm, returned for the purpose of erecting works on the hill called Potterberg, to the south of the town, which commanded the line of communication from Althaus, from which Swantepol had formerly operated.

In a very short time those fortresses which the Order possessed in the low country, and whose provisions were conveyed to them by the Vistula, began to suffer distress, and the knights were obliged to make constant forays in the surrounding country to carry off everything they could lay their hands upon. In these expeditions they were often surprised by the Prussians, who never gave quarter.

On one occasion the garrison and inhabitants of Elbing were reduced to such straits, that they left the town *en masse* for the purpose of scouring the entire country. On Swantepol learning this, he rapidly advanced before the walls of Elbing, but,

to his astonishment, he found the ramparts crowded with soldiers. Believing that the garrison had returned, he retraced his steps; but the warlike Duke had been again outwitted by the women's wit and daring, for it was the wives and female relatives of the garrison, who had followed the example of the courageous women of Culm in their heroic defence of the town. Similar deeds of heroism were displayed by the women of other towns of Prussia, and they were recompensed by the Order with privileges similar to those conferred on Culm. Troops of Prussians now hovered around most of the forts, hindering the women from cultivating the land in the immediate vicinity—an occupation which usually fell to them, since most of the male settlers had been compelled to take up arms and join the forces of the knights. The foresight of the Landmaster had rendered Culm almost impregnable; but such was not the case with Elbing, especially if Swantepol was able to obtain a position which commanded the principal route leading to the town. To the south all this was to be obtained by the capture of Christburg, a fort situated on a hill surrounded by a forest. On its site had formerly stood the sacred retreat of the Kriwe.

Swantepol, after withdrawing from Elbing, proceeded to Christburg with an army chiefly composed of Prussians. It will be remembered that near this spot ten years before Swantepol had assisted the knights to gain the victory of Sirgune, and the Order

had there erected a small fort. This Swantepol greatly strengthened, and left a sufficient garrison in it to hinder the Elbingers from making forays in search of provisions. To prevent the surrender of the garrison from starvation, the Landmaster despatched three large vessels laden with provisions for Elbing, and on board of each of the barges were several knights, under the command of Conrad Bremer. On reaching the fort Zantir, they encountered a flotilla of twenty vessels, which Swantepol had collected to intercept the convoy of provisions. The weight and size of the barges enabled them to break through the Prussian fleet, and reach Elbing in safety; but on their return they encountered a fleet of ten vessels near Swetz. During the combat which ensued, one of the vessels of the Order was stranded, but the two that remained, having succeeded in breaking through the opposing fleet, were able to rescue the crew of the third, and reach Culm in safety. In order to force Swantepol to retire from the territory of the knights, the Landmaster with a considerable force now invaded Pomerania, and laid siege to the fortress of Wissegrod. Here he was informed that Swantepol, on hearing that a considerable force of Crusaders, lately arrived in Prussia, were advancing on Swetz, had hastened to that place. The Landmaster determined to surprise him while engaged in strengthening the works of Swetz. He accordingly advanced to that place by a rapid night

march, and was enabled to conceal his entire force in the woody ground adjoining Swetz and Swantepol's camp.

In order to entice his opponent from his position, the Landmaster ordered several knights to advance upon Culm and commence skirmishing with Swantepol's troops, who were able, through their superior numbers, to drive back the knights. In the pursuit the Prussians came upon the army of the Landmaster lying in ambuscade. They immediately rushed to their camp, and communicated the intelligence of the vicinity of the Order's army. In a very short time all was panic and confusion. A part of Swantepol's army escaped to the fortress of Swetz, but the remainder fled from the scene of their surprise. They are said to have lost upwards of a thousand men. Osterna now returned with his army to Culm. Here he was joined by the long-expected reinforcements of Crusaders, who came mostly from Austria. Frederick had despatched a body of veteran soldiers, and Henry von Lichtenstein, who was afterwards Frederick's commander-in-chief, brought a large number of retainers, whom he had equipped at his own expense. Now also the Grand Master resolved to come to Prussia to superintend in person the campaign against Swantepol, as the condition of Germany, arising from the dispute between the Pope and Frederick, rendered it probable that considerable difficulty would be experienced in obtaining fresh Crusaders.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1245—1253.

Arrival of the Grand Master, Henry von Hohenlohe—Invasion of Pomerania—Swantepol Compelled to make Peace (1246)—Invasion of Courland and Lithuania—Description of the Country—Dispute with Swantepol settled by Arbitration—Second Invasion of Pomerania by the Knights—Treaty of Peace with Swantepol—Surrender of his Son and Hostages (1248)—Conquest of Warmien and Natangen—Granting of a Charter to the Prussians—Dispute with Archbishop Albert——Death of Hohenlohe (1249)—Günther elected Grand Master—Renewal of Dispute with the Archbishop—Death of the Emperor Frederick—Renewal of the Culmische Handfeste—Fresh War with Swantepol—Invasion of Lithuania—Mindowe Defeated, Baptized, and acknowledged King of Lithuania by the Pope and the Order—Invasion of Samland—Final Reconciliation with Swantepol—Death of Günther, and Election of Von Osterna (1253).

On the arrival in Prussia of the Grand Master, Henry von Hohenlohe, a council of war was held, in which Poppo von Osterna's plan of transferring the seat of war to Pomerania was unanimously agreed to; and accordingly the Landmaster, with his entire force, supported by a large number of auxiliaries which had been furnished by Casimir, invaded Swantepol's dominions. For nine days Pomerania was like a shambles of wholesale destruc-

tion of human life, and the flames of whole villages and towns marked the footsteps of the avenging knights. Even the sanctity of the cloister of Oliva did not prevent them from looting it. After nearly destroying the monastery by fire, the army of the cross returned, driving before them thousands of miserable captives.

Swantepol, who had been unable to oppose the triumphal advance of his opponents, had retired before them; but on their return he dogged their footsteps, eager to avail himself of the first opportunity of retaliation for the injuries done to his native country. The news of the frightful atrocities committed by the knights had not subdued the courage of the Pomeranians; and when they saw their courageous Duke with a small band following the footsteps of their retiring foe, their spirits rose, and they joined him to a man. Numbers of Prussians, who sighed for their freedom and their old religion, manfully came forward to join their fate with that of their champion. Swantepol now felt himself sufficiently strong to attack the enemy, and accordingly harangued his troops on the eve of the approaching contest, assuring them that the dawn of the next day would herald the restoration of their freedom. News having reached him that the knights, who had been engaged in scouring the country and pillaging the inhabitants, were encamped in the neighbourhood encumbered with baggage, Swantepol determined to attack the

enemy before they could carry off their spoil. His light cavalry in a very short time surrounded the knights, and after a desperate struggle succeeded in getting possession of the booty. The Landmaster ordered the veterans of the Duke of Austria to recapture the plunder, but on reaching it, and seeing the main body of the Duke's army in full advance, they were seized with a panic and fled back to Thorn.

Henry von Lichtenstein now advanced with his contingent, supported by the Poles, and, just as he had recaptured the booty, the entire body of Poles fled. Their standard-bearer, Martin von Kruswitz, alone remained. Lichtenstein still continued to oppose the successive onslaughts of the Prussians, but the Landmaster, fearing that he and his followers would be annihilated, ordered him to return to the main body. Swantepol, finding the knights drawn up in order of battle, ordered a thousand of his cavalry to dismount, and, whilst protecting themselves with their shields, to attempt to pierce the knights' chargers with their spears, knowing that if unhorsed any rapidity of movement on their part would become impossible from the weight of their armour. Henry von Lichtenstein, foreseeing the danger of such a manœuvre, led on his cavalry with the cry, "Forward at once! delay is dangerous!" The knights thereupon made a furious rush against the partly dismounted lancers, who were compelled to take refuge in the neighbouring broken ground,

to avoid the terrible onslaught. The troops of Swantepol behaved with great firmness, and, after several hours of hand-to-hand fighting, the Duke was seen to reel from his saddle severely wounded. This spectacle had such an effect that the Prussians gave up all for lost, and fled in various directions. Swantepol, however, was himself carried off to a neighbouring stronghold, around which in a very short time a sufficient force gathered to protect the fort from an immediate attack, and the knights thereupon proceeded to Thorn. Great was the surprise of the garrison of Thorn to see the knights return victorious and laden with plunder; for they had been informed by the fugitives who had fled the day before, that the entire army of the Order had been either slaughtered or dispersed. Consequently for several days Thorn was the scene of high festivities in honour of Henry von Lichtenstein, who had taken such a prominent part in the battle.

Swantepol, foreseeing his ruin if he continued the struggle, concluded peace with the Order in the beginning of the year 1246. He bound himself never to assist the Prussians again, and the knights ceded to him the castle of Sardowitz and its districts for his brother Sambor, and the Papal Legate withdrew the interdict under which the Duke had been placed by his spiritual predecessor. The Grand Master, as soon as the peace was finally settled, opened negotiations with two envoys, despatched

from Lubeck to Thorn, with reference to the arrangement which the former Landmaster and the Master of Liefland had made with the city of Lubeck. By the decision of Heidenreich, Bishop of Culm, the Lubeckers were allowed to build a town at the mouth of the Pregel, and received several districts in Warmien, Culm, and Samland. The town and the districts were to enjoy all those rights guaranteed in the charter of Culm. .The proprietors were to pay tribute to the Order and render military service. In a commercial point of view, this arrangement was highly satisfactory for the knights, but it eventually led to the formation of a citizen class whose proclivities were republican. The Grand Master now introduced various reforms concerning the rights of the different towns. Elbing was granted the privilege of coining pfennings, and also the right of deciding as to the establishment of monasteries or cloisters in the town. The Dominicans seem to have been allowed to erect a monastery and church without a tower on the 13th of April, 1246. Most of the reforms which the Grand Master introduced at this time seem to have been conceived for the purpose of preventing the priests from obtaining too much influence in the towns.

As the possession of Liefland was only regarded as the basis of further operations against the Courlanders, Samlanders, and Lithuanians, the Grand Master had in the year 1245 proceeded to Verona, and there obtained from the Emperor sovereign

rights over these people. Orders were then issued to the Master of Liefland to commence the subjugation of Courland, upon which he invaded that country in 1246, under the pretext of restoring the Christian faith. In a very short time he reduced the people to total submission. To obtain a firm footing in the country, he refortified Goldingen and placed a numerous garrison in it. Dietrich von Grüningen now turned his arms against Lithuania; but he could make no head in the development of the Order's supremacy in that country, for Lithuania was then ruled by the warlike Grand Duke Mindowe, and the Landmaster was obliged to content himself for the time being with the submission of Courland.

We here give some account of the early history and condition of Lithuania. It is said that the earliest inhabitants of the country were the Heruli, who, on their expulsion from Italy, migrated northwards and settled in the district, bringing with them many words of Latin origin. The first mention of the name Lithuania occurs in the chronicle of Quedlinburg, in the year 1009. After that date the name appears more frequently in Russian history, which speaks of the people as poor and uncivilized, compelled to pay tribute to Russian princes, who on various occasions overran the country.

We have already seen that Albert, Bishop of Riga, founded the Order of Sword-bearers in order to stbdue the pagans inhabiting the coast of the

Baltic Sea, as far as the Gulf of Finland. The half-savage heathens were soon subdued by the valour and military skill of these warrior-monks, and reduced to a state of bondage, as the Lithuanians were destitute of defensive armour, and had scarcely any other weapons than clubs and arrows. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, a portion of them successfully resisted the German invaders, and proved troublesome to both their Polish and Russian neighbours.

In 1220 Conrad, Duke of Masovia, was compelled to invite a body of knights to assist him in repelling the incursions of the Lithuanians. About the year 1235 their leader, Ryngold, succeeded in uniting all the Lithuanians under his rule, and assumed the title of Grand Duke of Lithuania. He was succeeded by his son Mindowe. The country itself is a large tract of flat, low land, exceedingly fertile, especially the districts watered by the rivers Niemen and Dnieper, but the rest of the country is covered with sand, marshes, and fens. There are some forests, which abound in fine timber and contain several varieties of wild animals, such as elks, wild hogs, bears, wolves, foxes, &c. The bison, which was formerly found in the forests of Poland and Germany, is peculiar to Lithuania, and is now found only in a single spot called the forest of Bidla Vieja. It has always been noted for a fine breed of horses called the Tschmud, which are particularly adapted for agricultural purposes.

The ancient Lithuanians were gross idolaters and worshipped all kinds of deities. The god of thunder, named Perkunas, was their chief deity. Like the ancient Prussians, they also had their sacred groves and fountains.

Courland, which is now one of the Baltic provinces of Russia, was also for many years an independent dukedom. The inhabitants probably belonged to the same race as the Lithuanians, but were more advanced in civilization and used a somewhat different dialect. The surface of the country is in some parts of a slightly undulating character, although on the whole it resembles that of Lithuania, being flat and sandy. Two-fifths of the country are forest and underwood, and a great portion is covered with marshes or lakes. One of the largest of these latter is Lake Usmaiten, with an area of thirty-four square miles. The principal river is the Duna, which skirts the eastern boundary of Courland. The soil is light and sandy, and not so productive as that of Lithuania or Livonia. Flax and hemp are extensively cultivated, as well as grain and tobacco. The inhabitants are mostly engaged in agriculture, but pasture land is insufficient for the rearing of cattle.

The Grand Master, foreseeing that the renewal of a war with Liefland and Pomerania was imminent, made Dietrich von Grüningen Landmaster of Prussia and Liefland. He himself and Poppo von Osterna returned to Germany to set on foot a fresh

crusade, as most of the Austrians with Henry von Lichtenstein had been compelled to leave Prussia on account of the struggle then going on between Frederick and the Hungarians. Notwithstanding the knights' promises, Swantepol's son and several hostages were still retained by them. The Duke was constantly urging that they should be set at liberty, as he believed the knights were doing all they possibly could to induce his son to enter the Order, which would place in their hands a considerable amount of Pomeranian territory. The refusal of the knights to fulfil their contract led to great irritation, as the relations of the other hostages feared that these might follow Mestwin's example. Besides this, there were other causes which led to the outbreak of hostilities. Constant disputes were occurring on the frontiers. The knights, who were not prepared for immediate hostilities, as the organization of the new crusade in Germany under the auspices of the Grand Master was not completed, proposed to Swantepol that the points at issue should be settled by arbitration. This Swantepol agreed to, and the Archbishop of Gnesen and the Bishop of Culm were selected as arbitrators. They decided that the Order should surrender to the Duke the territory situated between the river Tiege and the island Nehring as far as Camzicni, and also liberate all hostages, his son included. On the other hand, the knights were to have possession of the burg of Pren, near Culm,

and the adjoining villages during Swantepol's lifetime. In 1247 Henry von Wida, the former Landmaster, and his relative of the same name, arrived in Culm with a large body of Crusaders. Henry von Lichtenstein also now again made his appearance at the head of a chosen band of veterans.

Although all writers agree that Swantepol had honourably carried out the conditions of the treaty, still the knights resolved to force him to declare war, which they did by capturing Christburg, a town ceded by Swantepol to the Prussians who had renounced the Christian faith. Henry von Wida effected its capture by a night surprise, and, after having placed a sufficient garrison in it, he proceeded to reduce those districts which had thrown off the yoke of the knights. Swantepol, on hearing of this, requested a conference with Von Lichtenstein touching the injuries he had sustained. In the interview which took place the Duke declared that he had faithfully carried out his promises to the knights who they still retained his son as hostage. Lichtenstein replied that as he had so often broken faith with the Order, they could not release his son, and overwhelmed him with reproaches for his former cruelty towards the Christians. The Duke, irritated, broke off the interview, and Lichtenstein returned to Culm. Swantepol, who really appears to have desired peace, if he could obtain the liberation of his son, then requested an interview with the Land-

master on an island in the Vistula. Here all his overtures were regarded as presumptuous, and Swantepol, finding his efforts unavailing, returned to his dominions with the determination of recommencing the war. This was what the Grand Master desired, and he hereupon renewed his alliance with Casimir, the Duke of Cujavia.

Dietrich von Grüningen was now despatched to Germany to obtain reinforcements, and on his way he induced the two Margraves of Brandenburg to promise to send assistance to the knights.

Swantepol commenced the war by crossing the Vistula near Thorn, where he attacked and defeated a considerable number of the Order's forces. After having overrun and devastated Cujavia, he returned to his country laden with booty, carrying with him numbers of captives.

The Duke now rapidly advanced into Pomesania, where he was joined by a large number of Prussians, and at once attacked Christburg, which, notwithstanding a terrible resistance, was eventually captured by a *ruse de guerre*, and the entire garrison massacred. Swantepol now resolved to attempt the capture of New Christburg, a fort which the knights had lately erected. The troops which were ordered to attack the fort were defeated and driven back. Swantepol, not relying on the information he had received regarding the impregnability of the fortress, ordered the place to be well reconnoitred. The forces of the knights sallied out of the entrench-

ments and pursued the Prussians into their camp. A panic ensued, and nearly all the Prussians were slaughtered. Swantepol with a few of his followers managed to effect their escape in a boat. A curious anecdote is related with reference to this surprise. One of the Duke's followers was a man noted for his nervous timidity of character, and Swantepol, wishing therefore to play a small practical joke upon him, instructed one of his messengers to bring him during his meal the news of the knights of the Order having surprised his army. Now it so happened that this event really took place, and when the messenger came to announce the news to Swantepol, he believed that the man was only carrying out his instructions; but he soon discovered his mistake, as it was with the greatest difficulty that he managed to escape, while his servants were taken prisoners and massacred. The Duke of Pomerania after this crushing defeat in vain attempted to come to terms. The Landmaster would not listen to them, and advanced on the stronghold of Zantir, but which he was unable to capture. He now overran Pomerania, which, one might say, was reduced to a howling wilderness, for writers state that the acts of the knights were ten times more barbarous than before. Although all chances of further success seemed doubtful, yet this warrior Duke of Pomerania was resolved to obtain the liberation of his son. He accordingly sent envoys to the Papal Legate, Jacob Pantaleon, afterwards

Pope Urban IV., who had just arrived in Prussia, offering to come to honourable terms if his son were delivered up to him. The Legate and the Bishops of Kamin and Cujavia were declared arbitrators, and a treaty similar to the two former was concluded. At length, in the month of September, 1248, the Legate gave over young Mestwin to his father, and in November the treaty was formally ratified.

The question which the Legate had now to decide was of a more difficult character, viz., the terms of reconciliation between Swantepol and his brothers Sambor and Ratibor, and it was not until the Legate had excommunicated him that the Duke agreed to the terms of the decision of the Papal representative, as the two brothers had always been partisans of the Order. The Landmaster now recommenced his work of reconquering those districts which had revolted during the war. His first act was the subjugation of Warmien. He advanced from Elbing to Balga, the communication having been interrupted by the Prussians. On reaching Balga the Marshal, Henry Botel, was reinforced by a part of its garrison. After having reduced the entire country to submission, the knights proceeded to the conquest of Natangen. Here they met with little or no resistance, and, having collected a large amount of booty, they began to retrace their steps to Balga. Suddenly the army, who had halted in the village of Kruke, was surrounded. The Vice-Comthur, Johannes of

Balga, in vain attempted to induce the Marshal to cut his way through the army of the Prussians rather than surrender. At last it was arranged that the Marshal was to deliver into the hands of the enemy three principal officers, upon condition that the knights should be allowed to retire into their own territory, leaving their war material and plunder in the hands of the Prussians; but the latter broke their engagement, and massacred nearly all the knights and their followers. This occurred on the 30th of November, 1248.

Luckily for the Order, the efforts of Dietrich von Grüningen had been successful, for in 1249 a fresh body of Crusaders reached Prussia, under the command of Otho of Brandenburg, Thomas, Bishop of Breslau, and Count Henry von Schwartzburg. Each of these leaders had a province assigned to him to force the inhabitants to acknowledge the authority of the Order. Very soon Warmien, Pomesiania, and Natangen were completely under the sway of the knights. The Landmaster considered that the time had now arrived to effect a thorough reconciliation with the Prussians, as he could now without fear relax his stern grasp of iron despotism by which they were then kept in obedience. A proclamation was issued inviting all the principal Prussian nobles to meet the Papal Legate, the Landmaster, and his principal advisers at Christburg, to arrange the future rights, privileges, and obligations of the Prussians. The following

may be regarded as the main articles of this species of Prussian Magna Charta :—

1. Those Prussians who embraced the Christian faith could purchase land and would be regarded as subjects of the Order.

2. On the death of the father the property was to be inherited by the sons or daughters or grandchildren of the owner. If no children or grandchildren survived, it was to go to the brothers of the deceased, and, if they were dead, to the cousins; and if no relations survived, the property either returned to the Order or to the feudal lord of the district in which it was situated. This referred only to immovable property.

3. The proprietor could during his lifetime will away his personal estate, and could sell to any one his landed property, provided that before disposing of it he placed in the hands of the Order something equivalent in value to the purchase-money, which he forfeited on taking his residence in the enemy's country.

4. The Prussians were also allowed to bequeath their movable and immovable property to any one, but if they left it to a church or priest, the property had to be sold at the expiration of a year, and if it was disposed of above its appreciated value, the legatee was entitled to the surplus. If this was not carried out, the Order appropriated the property on the grounds that the Order held Prussia as a fief of the Papacy, and no land could

be alienated without the express sanction of the Pope; and in the selling of the property the option of purchase was left to the knights, who, on their part, agreed not to purchase it under its value. By these conditions the temporal power of the Prussian hierarchy was placed within such limits as to prevent its power becoming dangerous to the rule of the Order.

7. The knights guaranteed to the Prussians the judicial code of Poland, excepting ordeal by fire, besides those enactments which had reference to offences committed against God and the Church. The Prussians were also guaranteed perfect equality unless guilty of crime.

8. The Prussians undertook to renounce all participation in the *fête* days of their heathen gods, and that they would no longer protect the Tulissonen or Ligaschonen, who sang verses in praise of the dead.

9. Marriages between Prussians were legalized if the betrothal took place in the presence of some person, but they were bound to give notice of it to the neighbouring priest. It was also ordained that no Prussian could buy a wife for himself or his son. This arose from a custom of the ancient Prussians for the son to inherit his step-mother with the rest of the property, so that often the son had his step-mother as a wife.

10. The father could not dispose of his children by sale or gift. Newly-born children were to be

baptized within eight days. If a priest could not be found, any Christian could perform the ceremony by immersing the child three times in water. The Prussians undertook to erect a certain number of churches during a given period, and if they failed to do so, the knights had the power to levy a contribution sufficient for their erection and adornment.

Further, the Prussians were to partake of the Sacrament on Easter-day, and to confess at least once a year. It was also enacted that every Prussian should deliver to the magazine of the Order one-tenth of his yearly crops. Moreover, the Prussians solemnly undertook to assist the knights in all military expeditions according to their means. All these articles were solemnly ratified.

After the ratification of the treaty, the knights found themselves entangled in a dispute with the Archbishop Albert of Prussia, who had been formerly Bishop of Lubeck. The elevation of Albert had naturally been welcomed by the immigrants from Lubeck, who at that time represented the most industrious and wealthy class of the Order's subjects. Relying on their support, the archbishop put forth pretensions which had for their object the direction of the secular affairs of the Order in Prussia. He defended his claims on the ground that the Pope had empowered him to act as Papal Legate in Prussia. The knights, fearing that he might take up his

residence at Elbing or Culm, where his fellow-townsmen chiefly resided, came to an arrangement with him through the mediation of the Bishops of Culm, Pomesania, and Ermland, and the Margrave Otto of Brandenburg. It was stipulated that the archbishop should take up his residence in Riga, and that instead of deriving his revenue from ecclesiastical contributions, the Order should pay him a certain yearly sum.

By this compromise the knights were enabled to act as neutrals in the great struggle which was then going on in Germany between Innocent and Frederick; but they had naturally been compelled to make sacrifices to gain the support of the bishops, who, on their part, were desirous to annul the appointment of the archbishop as Legate, as it checked their ambitious designs. The concessions on the part of the Order to the bishops in a very short time led to fresh troubles, and, unfortunately for the Order, Henry von Hohenlohe, who had so skilfully managed to maintain the most friendly relations with Frederick and the Pope notwithstanding their violent quarrels, died about this time. Considerable doubt exists as to the exact date of his demise, but it is highly probable that he expired towards the close of the year 1249. The election of his successor made it manifest that the strife which had for years past been going on between the rulers of Germany and the Popes had sown among the brotherhood the seeds of disunion. At the Grand

Chapter, held at Kur, the Papal party, under the leadership of Dietrich von Grüningen, elected Ludwig von Queden. The Germans, who were more numerous, elected a knight named Günther. A compromise appears to have been effected, for Von Queden was afterwards despatched as Landmaster to Prussia. This disunion emboldened Archbishop Albert to recommence his attempt to increase his power at the expense of the Order, and he accordingly repaired to Lubeck to gain the support of this important town. Dietrich von Grüningen, as representative of the Papal party in the Order, relying on the support of Pope Innocent, repaired to Lubeck, for the purpose of settling the dispute and compelling Albert to come to some final arrangement; but the archbishop did not await his arrival, and Dietrich, after remaining a considerable time, induced the Burgomaster and town council to express in writing their condemnation of the archbishop. Armed with this document, Dietrich repaired to the Pope, who favoured the Order by reprimanding the archbishop, and ordered Albert and the Landmaster to appear before him in the ensuing year. At the interview which took place, the Pontiff, although not openly condemning the archbishop, took the first opportunity of preventing Albert from interfering with the temporal power of the Landmaster, and in the month of September the archbishop was ordered to discontinue for the time being the exercise of his authority as Papal Legate, it being apparent that

he wished to acquire the rank of a temporal prince. In order to check the ambitious designs of Archbishop Albert, Innocent ordered the Bishops of Albano and Sabina and Cardinal Johannes to define the exact limits of the archbishop's authority.

In the month of February, 1251, they arrived at a similar decision to that given on the previous occasion by the Prussian bishops and Otto of Brandenburg. The archbishop was expressly ordered not to interfere in any way whatsoever with any of the privileges or rights which the Curia had guaranteed to the Order; that all the reforms instituted by the Papal Legate, William of Modena, were to remain in full force; and that, on the death of the then Bishop of Riga, that town was to become the metropolitan see of the archbishop.

At the commencement of the year 1250, Ludwig von Queden replaced Henry von Wida, who, up to that time, performed the duties of Vice-Landmaster. Von Queden seems to have chiefly directed his attention to the improvement of the internal condition of the country, and we find him in conjunction with the bishops erecting new churches and schools, and appointing suitable pastors and teachers. The new Landmaster also acted with prudence and moderation in his dealings with the old inhabitants and the new settlers, so that the year 1250 was a period of comparative tranquillity. Moreover, the old Crusaders had already returned home, and

the army of the Order was far too much reduced numbers to venture on a war with the Samlanders. Towards the end of the year the Order suffered an irreparable loss by the death of the Emperor Frederick, who had for so many years supported the interests and furthered the prosperity of the Order.

Meanwhile Dietrich von Grüningen, who had gone to Rome to induce the Pontiff to proclaim a fresh crusade, was so far successful that the Pope despatched him to Germany on a mission, and issued Bulls to the mendicant orders in Germany, Bohemia, and Poland, exhorting them to preach another crusade for the final conversion of the heathens in the north of Prussia. In the autumn of the year 1251, we learn that the Deutschmaster, Eberhard von Sayn, visited North Prussia, as representative of the Grand Master, to regulate the internal affairs of the Order in Prussia, Liefland, and Courland. Eberhard's visit derives its importance from an accidental circumstance, for we are told that about the end of September, when the Deutschmaster arrived at Culm, he was visited by a deputation of the citizens of Culm and Thorn, who came to request him to renew the Culmische Handfeste, being the charter of their rights and privileges, given to them by the former Landmaster, Hermann Balk, but which had been accidentally destroyed by a fire. Eberhard thereupon consulted the more influential members of the Order, and

after a lengthened discussion as to the modification of several minor points, the famous charter was renewed October 1, 1251, in the presence of the Landmaster, Ludwig von Queden, and other officials.

The year 1251 was a period of unusual tranquillity, and peace was uninterrupted during Eberhard's stay in Prussia; but this state of things was not destined to last long. Duke Swantepol still nourished in his heart a deadly animosity to the Order, and only awaited a favourable opportunity to avenge his former defeats. The occasion presented itself in the very beginning of the year 1252, when his brother, Duke Sambor, gave up to the Order the island of Zantir, with all rights, for the sum of 150 marks. This immediately led to a renewal of hostilities. The knights, being joined by the troops of Duke Sambor, took time by the forelock, marched into Pomerania, and overran the country far and wide, advancing even to the cloister of Oliva, which they plundered. Meanwhile Swantepol had collected a considerable army of his subjects and heathen allies, and retaliated by invading Pomesania, which he devastated by fire and sword, and carried off as captives all those who had recently embraced Christianity.

Luckily for Swantepol, the knights became at this period involved in a dispute with their neighbour, Duke Casimir of Cujavia, concerning the duties to

be levied on the Vistula. The knights had hitherto been on good terms with their Polish neighbour, as the first Landmaster, Hermann Balk, had made a commercial treaty with the Duke of Poland, according to which persons provided with a certificate of the Order were exempt from duties, except for a few articles. A similar treaty had been made with Duke Casimir, and the knights had faithfully observed all its conditions as long as they were at war with Swantepol. But on the cessation of hostilities they immediately violated the terms of the treaty, and complaints against the exactions of the Order became so frequent that Duke Casimir issued a decree entirely forbidding the export and import of goods through Thorn and on the Vistula. The Order issued a similar prohibition to their subjects, and in consequence, for nearly two years, all commercial relations between the two sides of the Vistula were entirely interrupted. Such was the state of things when the Order declared war against Swantepol.

In consequence of the invasion of Pomerania, trade was so much affected that the knights resolved to come to some understanding with Duke Casimir, and accordingly despatched the Landmaster, Dietrich von Grüningen, and several other leading officials, to propose a reconciliation. As the cessation of commercial relations with the knights had been equally prejudicial to his subjects, Duke Casimir welcomed the deputation, and agreed

to sign a new commercial treaty with the Order. This new compact, in which the respective dues and taxes were clearly defined, was duly ratified in July, 1252.

In the mean time important events had taken place in Livonia, on the departure of the Master, Dietrich von Grüningen, who was succeeded by a knight named Andreas von Stuckland. Almost immediately on his appointment, the old enemy, Mindowe, Duke of Lithuania, made his reappearance, and in conjunction with his nephew, Von Polock, and his allies the Samogitians and Semgallians, invaded the territory of the Order. Thereupon Von Stuckland collected his forces and advanced into Lithuania as far as the capital, destroying and plundering in his progress, and making a considerable number of prisoners. Emboldened by his successes, the Master now penetrated into the territory of Mindowe's allies, the Samogitians and Semgallians, who on his approach retreated to the forests and marshes.

Mindowe upon this, fearing that further resistance to the superior forces of the knights would be useless, resolved to sue for peace, and accordingly sent an embassy to Andreas von Stuckland to request an interview. The Master consented, and on the day appointed appeared with a large body of retainers at Mindowe's palace, where he was received with the greatest respect. Negotiations were then entered into, and a treaty concluded, by which Mindowe

agreed to be baptized, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Order, and to surrender the districts of Samogitia and Courland to the knights, who agreed to confirm him in his rule, with the title of King. Thereupon Prince Mindowe and many of his nobles were baptized. On these events becoming known at Rome, Pope Innocent sent a letter to Prince Mindowe congratulating him on his conversion, and expressing his willingness to take him, his family, and his territory of Lithuania under the protection of the Apostolic Chair. In the autumn of the same year, Mindowe was solemnly crowned King of Lithuania at Novogrodeck, in the presence of the two Landmasters, the Bishop of Culm, and a vast assemblage of notabilities. On the same day a great number of Lithuanians followed the example of their King and were baptized.

As the knights were now reconciled with Casimir, and had been successful in their Lithuanian campaign, the present appeared a favourable opportunity for reducing Samland under the sway of the Order, and so bringing themselves into nearer communication with their brother knights in Livonia. Heinrich Stango, the Comthur of Christburg, was appointed the commander-in-chief of the army destined for the conquest of Samland. Having made the necessary preparations, Stango led his army across the Haff, near the modern Lochstadt, in the winter of the year 1252, and through the severity of the

cold the troops crossed the ice without difficulty or inconvenience. Having passed the spot where, more than a century before, the bold missionary, Adalbert, met his death, the knights advanced into the interior of the country, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of the Romowe, the retreat of the Kriwe and the priests, by the destruction of whom the knights hoped to gain an easy victory over the Samlanders, and at the same time to extirpate every trace of the heathen worship. Meanwhile the Samlanders had collected an army and taken up a position near the village of German to oppose the advance of the invaders. A fierce battle ensued, in which, notwithstanding their valour and military skill, the knights were unable to cope with the superior numbers of the Samlanders. Their valiant general, Heinrich Stango, endeavoured to rally his forces, and advanced at the head of a small body of his brothers in arms, determined to die or conquer; but they were soon overcome, and fell valiantly fighting to the last. The remaining knights, perceiving the fall of their general, were seized with a panic and escaped with great difficulty. Heinrich Stango had by his manly and unblemished career endeared himself to all who knew him, and was styled "the lion-hearted." His glorious death was not forgotten for many years.

The failure of this first attempt to subjugate Samland greatly discouraged the knights, who had anticipated an easy victory. As the number of

their forces was greatly reduced by this disaster, they resolved in consequence to postpone further hostilities until they should receive fresh recruits for another campaign.

The vicissitudes of this remarkable brotherhood are among the most wonderful in history, for in a very short time the fortunes of the Order began to revive, and the year 1253 was a year of unexampled prosperity. Pope Innocent, who had always been its warm supporter, now became more active than ever in furthering its interests. During his quarrel with the Emperor Frederick, many knights who had supported the Emperor's cause had been excommunicated; but the Pope now issued a fresh Bull, revoking his former decrees, and restoring the excommunicated knights to all their rights and privileges. He also despatched the Bishop of Pomesania to Duke Swantepol to try and bring about a reconciliation between the knights and their inveterate foe. After protracted negotiations the Bishop succeeded in arranging an interview between Swantepol, his son Mestwin, and the leading functionaries of the Order in the month of July, 1253. The parties met near the Smith's island, in the north of Pomesania. There the conditions of a final reconciliation were drawn up and agreed to on both sides. The Order consented to remit the sum of 2,000 marks, which Duke Swantepol had forfeited by the breach of the last treaty; and, on the other hand, the Duke entered into a

solemn engagement not to invade the territory of the knights, nor to enter into any alliance with their opponents, under the penalty of forfeiting the burg and territory of Dantzic, as well as the 2,000 marks which had been remitted. The treaty was signed by Swantepol and his son Mestwin, the document with the ducal seal being still preserved in the royal archives.

The result of this treaty was that Swantepol remained for ever after on terms of peace with the Order. His determined spirit had been broken by numerous reverses, and his advancing age led him to wish for peace, so that his dominions might be inherited by his son; and this he knew could be only obtained by being the ally of the knights. In the autumn of the same year the Papal Legate, Opizo, the Abbot of Mezano, confirmed the treaty in the name of the Pontiff. To manifest his sincerity, Swantepol transferred to the citizens of Culm, his former opponents, a large tract of land in the vicinity of the town.

The knights, having thus settled their differences with the Dukes of Cujavia and Pomerania, as well as with the Lithuanians, were now free to prepare for another serious campaign against the heathens, more especially against the Samlanders. In this they were supported and encouraged by the Pope, who sent an exhortation to the mendicant friars in Germany to preach a fresh crusade for the defence and extension of the Christian Church in North

Prussia. The Pope also wrote a letter to Boleslaus, Duke of Cracow, and Casimir, Duke of Cujavia, exhorting them to exert all their influence in support of the Christian religion, and for the conversion and subjugation of their heathen neighbours.

The Dukes of Poland informed the Pope that their heathen neighbours on the east, the Polexianer, were willing to embrace Christianity, on condition of their freedom and rights being secured to them. Thereupon the Pope allowed the Dukes to annex Polexien to the dukedom of Poland, and secured them against any claims which might be made by the knights.

On the 4th of May, 1253, the Grand Master Günther died; and the knights thereupon unanimously elected as his successor Poppo von Osterna, who had for nearly twenty years taken a prominent part in all transactions of the Order.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1253–1275.

Accession of Poppo von Osterna—Ottocar, King of Bohemia, in Prussia—Conquest of Samland (1255)—Erection of Königsberg and Braunsberg—Invasion of Natangen—Ambitious Designs of the Papacy—Growing Laxity in the Order—Tartar Invasions—General Rising of the Prussians—Great Battle at Pokarwen (1261)—Capture of Heilsberg—Resignation and Death of Poppo von Osterna (1262)—Election of Hanno von Sangerhausen—Capture of Königsberg—Death of Swantepol—Renewal of Hostilities—Invasion of Pomerellen—Capture of Brandenburg—Invasion of Culm—Siege of Christburg—Battle on the Sirgune—Ottocar and Otho of Brandenburg arrive in Prussia—Subjugation of Natangen, Warmien, and Barten—Death of the Grand Master (1275).

The accession of Poppo von Osterna to the post of Grand Master, in 1253, promised to have important results for the Order. For many years he had distinguished himself as much by his valour in battle as by his prudence and discretion in negotiations. He had, moreover, a long and varied experience, and had held the post of Landmaster in Prussia during the period that the knights were engaged in their wars with the heathens. His election as

Grand Master at this moment was of great consequence to the Order, who now contemplated a serious campaign against Samland. Poppo himself took the deepest interest in this new expedition, and was instrumental in enlisting a considerable number of Germans in the crusade. At this period the organization, discipline, and internal government of the Order attracted the attention of European princes, especially in Germany, where the Teutonic Knights were regarded with universal respect, and they were frequently consulted, not only by the rulers of the minor States, but also by the Emperor himself. It is also specially noteworthy, that although possessing great influence over the masses, from theirp riestly character they do not seem to have excited the jealousy of the priests. It is not therefore surprising, that a considerable number of Crusaders, in search of military glory or from a natural love of adventure in unknown lands, eagerly embraced the opportunity of joining a new crusade.

Towards the end of the year 1253, accompanied by the Margrave of Meissen and the Landmaster, Dietrich von Grüningen, Poppo von Osterna arrived in Prussia at the head of the crusaders. His first step was to reduce to submission the Galinder and neighbouring tribes that had previously submitted to the Order, but had recently renounced their allegiance. This was soon accomplished. The tribes made little resistance, and ultimately

agreed to be rebaptized and to give hostages for their future good conduct. The knights showed little severity, as they feared the natives might prefer to become subjects of the Dukes of Poland, who had but recently annexed the district of Polexien, an act which the Order regarded with no little jealousy.

Towards the end of the year 1253, a fresh dispute arose between the knights and Archbishop Albert of Riga, which interrupted for a while the military operations. Albert had been elected bishop by the Chapter of Riga, on the death of Nicolaus in 1253, and in April, 1254, he was made Archbishop of Riga and Liefland; but on the Order refusing to acknowledge his authority, the matter was referred to the Pope, who at the end of the year 1254 decided the matter to the satisfaction of all parties, and issued a Bull taking under his protection the bishopric of Riga, with all the territory attached to the see, strictly defining the authority, rights and privileges of the archbishopric.

The knights now determined to undertake the conquest of Samland, and extend their territory in the direction of Courland and Liefland, in the hope of ultimately annexing the whole country as far as the confines of Russia. With this view they sent an embassy to the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary, and to all the German princes, soliciting aid for their next campaign against the heathens. Pope Innocent IV. favoured the aggressive policy of

the knights, and issued a fresh Bull calling on the Dominican monks to preach another crusade, and directing the Bishops of Culm, Ermland, and Pomesania to excommunicate all those who should in any way attempt to prevent the carrying out of the project. As early as the spring of the year, Bishop Bruno of Olmutz came to inform the Grand Master that his sovereign, Ottocar, King of Bohemia, intended to assist the Order in the next crusade against the Samlanders, and that he would arrive at the head of a large army towards the end of the autumn. The bishop was, moreover, charged to issue a proclamation to the people of Samland, calling upon them in the name of the King of Bohemia to embrace Christianity, with the alternative of being compelled to do so by force of arms.

As hostilities could not be undertaken, with any prospect of success, until the arrival of the fresh Crusaders, the Grand Master resolved to employ the interval in strengthening the more important fortifications, and in erecting forts to prevent the junction of the Samogitians with the Samlanders. One of the most important positions was the burg of Memel, which had belonged to the Order since its union with the knights of Liefland. It was of the utmost value, both in a commercial and military point of view.

The Samlanders had for many years derived arms, salt, and other necessaries of life from the

trading vessels which frequented the port, and had previously made an unsuccessful attempt to wrest it from the knights. So early as the year 1251 Poppo von Osterna, on his arrival in those parts, had given directions for the erection of a fort, in which he was assisted by the Bishop of Courland. The works were commenced in the course of the year 1252, and were so far completed in 1253, that the bishop made it his metropolitan see, and gave it the name of Memelburg. According to the original compact, the bishop and the Order proceeded to divide the burg between them, and to fortify their respective portions. In August, 1254, the fortifications being quite completed, the Pope, at the request of the Order, issued a Bull forbidding any one to supply either arms, clothes, or food to the heathens, and calling on all Christians to assist the Order in defending the burg and river of Memel against the Samlanders.

Towards the end of the year the knights were quite prepared for the contest with Samland. Ottocar, King of Bohemia, who had just concluded a peace with the King of Hungary, now fulfilled his promise, and arrived in Prussia with a large body of Crusaders from all parts of Germany, Bohemia, Moravia, and Austria. The Austrians and Bohemians were under the command of the King himself; the Moravians were commanded by Bruno, Bishop of Olmutz; and a large contingent was headed by Count Rudolf of Hapsburg.

King Ottocar had marched with his army through Silesia, where he was hospitably received by the Dukes of Poland; and at Breslau he was joined by his brother-in-law, the Margrave Otho of Brandenburg.

The united army, after celebrating the Christmas at Breslau, continued their march, and in the early part of the year 1255 reached the Vistula. The entire army of Crusaders numbered upwards of 60,000 men, well equipped, and accompanied by a long train of waggons, with the necessary munitions of war. On his arrival at Elbing, King Ottocar was received by the Grand Master, the Landmaster, and the principal functionaries of the Order. This was the largest army of Christians that had as yet collected in Prussia, and great results were anticipated. The success of the expedition was nearly rendered abortive by national jealousies, for a petty dispute between the Saxons and Austrians, as to the use of a mill near Elbing, almost led to hostilities between the Crusaders themselves.

An incident worthy of notice is told with reference to this campaign. The Samlanders, wishing to know the nature of the force they had to resist, despatched an old man, probably a soothsayer, to the army of the knights at Balga, who, having discovered his real object, showed him all over the camp and the stronghold. On his return, he informed his countrymen that there was but little chance of success, for, from the pious way in

which they adored their God by night and day, he would certainly make them victorious; besides which, he told them that as the knights could live on grass and vegetables, they had no need of other food. He inferred this from having seen the knights eating large quantities of salad and fruit at their meals.

The Samlanders were not satisfied with this statement. They therefore despatched a second envoy, named Gedune, a venerable counsellor, who was received with every sign of respect by Ottocar, who paraded to him his army on the ice, and gave him a flag to place on the house of his children, so that the invading army should not molest them. This so deceived the old Samlander that, believing no immediate advance was contemplated, he remained with Ottocar's army. Unfortunately, during his stay at the camp, the advanced guard of Ottocar's army had already arrived at the district of Medenau, which they plundered, and the family of the simple-hearted Gedune shared the fate of the rest of the inhabitants.

The King himself followed soon after with the main body of his army, with the intention of penetrating into the heart of the country, and destroying the sacred Romowe and other remnants of heathen worship. The army of the Christians reached the spot where more than a century before the missionary Adalbert had met his fate. After halting here a short while, Ottocar advanced with his army

unopposed until he reached the district of Rudau. Here the Samlanders were drawn up in battle array to oppose the advance of the knights. A fierce battle ensued, in which the Samlanders were so completely defeated, that finding it useless to offer any further resistance in the open field, the principal officers, with the remnant of their forces, took refuge in the stronghold of Rudau. The fort was, however, so ill-provisioned that they were soon forced to surrender. The knights on this occasion acted with great moderation, in the hope that the remaining forts would be induced to submit. The two principal men of the fort were baptized by the Bishop of Olmutz, and received the names of Ottocar and Otho respectively.

The army now penetrated into the districts of Quedenau, Waldan, Caymen, and Tapiau. Wherever they met with resistance the knights exercised the greatest severity, devastated the country, and committed the greatest barbarities. Gradually the inhabitants became so terrified that they offered to surrender unconditionally, and to embrace Christianity voluntarily. All those who submitted were treated with consideration, but no quarter was given to those who resisted, nor to the heathen priests. The whole country within the sacred precincts was laid bare.

In January King Ottocar advised the knights to employ the captives in building a castle on an elevation in the forest of Twangste.

The conquest of Samland was thus accomplished in less than a month. So brief, indeed, was the period, that a military tent forwarded to King Ottocar reached its destination after the departure of the King, who returned home towards the end of January, 1255, and boasted that he had extended the kingdom of Bohemia from the Adriatic to the Baltic. The castle of Twangste was very soon erected, and in honour of King Ottocar was called Königsberg. The coat of arms which was adopted for the town was a knight armed and crowned. Subsequently the castle of Braunsberg was erected in honour of Bishop Bruno.

Burchard von Hornhausen, who had superintended the construction of the castle of Königsberg, was made its governor. He had formerly performed the duties of Vice-Landmaster, and the whole of Samland was placed under his immediate authority, with orders to extend its frontiers at every convenient opportunity, and Henry von Brunn was made Bishop of Samland. A dispute shortly after arose between the Order and Duke Casimir, who claimed a portion of the district of Löbau, which, by the advice of the Pope, was ceded to him. Under the Comthur's rule the people of Samland appear in a very short time to have become reconciled to the yoke of the Order; but their subjugation had caused considerable alarm amongst their neighbours, the Schalauer, Nadrauer, and Sudauer. These three tribes, having collected all their available warriors, invaded Sam-

land, committing frightful barbarities on all those who had embraced the Christian faith. As there was not sufficient force to oppose their progress, they were able to satiate their revenge on their unfortunate countrymen, a large number of whom they took with them as slaves on their return to their homes. To prevent a repetition of these disasters, a strong fort was erected at the junction of the Alle and Pregel, called Wehlau; and a celebrated Prussian warrior, Thirsko, and his son Maidelo, with their followers, had the castle confided to their care. Thirsko had formerly been one of the most determined opponents of the knights, but after he and his family had embraced Christianity he became one of their most zealous allies.

By his assistance and influence a considerable number of Samlanders now offered their services to the knights in their military raids. This enabled Burchard von Hornhausen to commence offensive operations. The castle of Capostete was captured and its district ravaged. This was followed up by a successful expedition into the district of Wohnsdorf, where he captured the stronghold Ocktolite, and, having received reinforcements, proceeded thence to subjugate the inhabitants of Natangen. In this he was fully successful, and the people, terrified by the slaughter, agreed unconditionally to his terms. A large number of the women and children were carried off by the conqueror. This doubtless was an act of barbarity, but by doing so the following

objects were gained. The husbands were naturally desirous of obtaining their wives and children, and they fully knew their restoration could be only accomplished by their becoming subjects of the Order. Secondly, as the knights required most of their able-bodied men in their inroads, the tilling of the land devolved upon the women and children, many of whom in course of time married foreign immigrants. Godecko the great leader of the people of Natangen, and his two sons, fell in the defence of their ancient religion and liberties. About this time the Grand Master came again to Prussia, under the pretext of arranging a dispute between the Polish Duke Przemislaus and Duke Swantepol, in which he succeeded. His real object was to make certain of the assistance of these two rulers in the ensuing campaign which he meditated against the remaining heathen tribes. Pope Alexander IV., who had succeeded Innocent IV. in December of the previous year, fondly believed that through his exertions the heathen religion would be extirpated in the North of Europe, and he therefore ordered the bishops in every country in Europe to constantly preach fresh crusades. Through the exertions of the priests a motley assemblage of knights and retainers flocked from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Scotland.

In 1257 the Pope ordered all the priests to pronounce from their altars anathemas against all those who might interfere in the pious work which the

German Order had undertaken. Rulers were not to levy dues on anything which the knights might require from their territories. The priests were ordered to do their utmost to increase the military chest of the Order by the collection of alms in their churches. Those who went to Prussia had their sins commuted in the same manner as if they had proceeded to Palestine. In fact, the Pope left no stone unturned to assist the knights in carrying out their usual aggressive policy. But there is a curious phase in all these transactions which must already have been noticed by our readers, viz., that so soon as any spoil was obtained, the Papacy and the knights seem to have had a difference of opinion as to their respective shares in the booty acquired. There is not the slightest doubt that the Pope and the Order desired each other's assistance for their own ulterior objects, and that the former wished to convert Prussia into a fief of the Papal Court. Alexander's object was, that the Order should pay him a yearly tribute. The knights, on the other hand, intoxicated with the rapidity of their conquests, step by step fell away from the austere rules of their Order; and their rising power not only excited the jealousy of those rulers in whose dominions they possessed large territories, but that of the two other orders of knights as well. They therefore required the power of the Papal infallibility to protect their character and acts from public criticism; and thus protected, they believed they

could always count upon the assistance of civilized Europe, although they had not the slightest idea of yielding to the supremacy of the Papacy. Both the Emperor and the Pope at this time appear to have vied with each other in supporting the Order.

We find in the year 1257 that the latter, by letters patent, sanctioned the arrangement entered into between Duke Casimir and the Order, with reference to the cession of a part of the Duke's territory to the brothers; but he appears to have made the guarantee of all further acquisitions conditional on the sanction of the Papacy. In the same year we find the Emperor Richard, Earl of Cornwall, known as the false Kaiser, brother of Henry III. of England, acknowledging all the privileges which had formerly been granted to the Order, doubtless because Richard, knowing the power of the German Order, wished to gain its assistance in his struggle to obtain the supremacy in Germany. The knights seem now to have treated their subjects in a far more lenient manner than formerly. This was done with the secret intention of decreasing the power of the Roman Catholic bishops and clergy, and thus to force them to become dependent on the Order. After the death of Heidenreich the knights obtained the election of one of their brotherhood, named Frederick, to the bishopric of Culm. This was followed by the introduction of several others of the brotherhood into other ecclesiastical posts.

About the same time Burchard von Hornhausen, who had temporarily exercised the duties of Landmaster of Prussia, was transferred to Liefland, and Gerhard von Hirzberg succeeded him.

One of the greatest dangers, not only to the Teutonic Knights but to universal Christendom, in the second half of the thirteenth century, was the foundation of a Tartar or Mogul Empire in Russia, under Baty, the grandson of Ghengis Khan, whose empire extended from the Ganges to the Dnieper. Here it will not be amiss to devote a brief space to the condition of Russia at the time about which we are writing, glancing backwards at what it had been during the previous century.

Of the early sovereigns of Russia, Vladimir Monomachus is best entitled to the affectionate remembrance of his countrymen, strong in arms, wise in counsel, and virtuous in private life—above all, free from the degrading shackles of superstition, which have in so many instances made princes otherwise good mere tools of priestcraft. Called to the throne in 1113, at the earnest solicitations of his countrymen, he consolidated the interests of his fatherland, developed its resources, and quelled the animosities of the petty princes under his sway. For twelve years he reigned, during which time there was internal tranquillity, and he commanded the respect of neighbouring sovereigns to such a degree that the Greek Emperor recognized him as his equal in dignity, and sent to him the insignia of

Imperialism, including a golden tiara set with gems, a gold sceptre, and other costly ornaments, still preserved in the Museum at Moscow. At his death in 1125, he left behind him a code of maxims to be observed by his children, which for enlightened patriotism and sound wisdom have never been surpassed among the dying utterances of monarchs.

At his death, however, anarchy again supervened. The streets of Kief ran with blood, and one prince after another assumed the supremacy. During thirty-two years there were as many as eleven princes, each of whom claimed to be chief. One of them, however, Igor, Prince of Suzdal, succeeded in conquering the others. He died in the midst of sensual enjoyments in 1157. He was succeeded by his son Andrew, who was an energetic ruler, and used all his powers for the consolidation of his country, but in vain. Prince after prince revolted from his obedience, and it was with difficulty that he retained his own sovereignty of Suzdal, although aided by an army of 50,000 men. He was barbarously assassinated in 1174. His successor parcelled out the possessions of the principality, and his next successor still further subdivided them. In this way the Empire of Russia, if we may so call it, fell completely into pieces, and became an easy prey eventually to a barbarian conqueror, Ghengis Khan, known in history as the Scourge of Nations.

It was about the beginning of the thirteenth

century that this great Tartar chief first distinguished himself in Asia as a ruthless destroyer of mankind. Originally only the chief of a Tartar horde of some 30,000 or 40,000 families, he led his followers from victory to victory, followed by wholesale massacres, through the defiles of the Caucasus to the confines of the Russian Empire. At last he reached the Dnieper, where he completely beat the Circassians, who had sought to unite themselves to the Polovtzy for common defence. Both, however, fell before the prowess of his arms. The Russian princes now bestirred themselves to stem the tide, if possible, of this terrible invasion. The Tartars got news of this, and, to prevent a union among their enemies, sent ambassadors into Russia with proposals of peace and amity. The ambassadors, however, were immediately put to death; and the Princes of Kief, Galitsch, and other districts, collected all the troops they could muster. These, together with the Polovtzy, formed no inconsiderable army. But there was discord still amongst them; and the Tartars, as crafty as they were cruel, having contrived to draw them on to the banks of the Kalka, near the mouth of the Don, there beat them in detail, one portion of the Russian army looking on while the others were being slaughtered. The Tartars next advanced into Russia and ravaged the entire southern portion of it, carrying away with them immense booty. Satisfied with what they

had done, they then retired from the Russian frontiers to seek adventures in other countries. They were absent for several years, which might have given the Russian princes an opportunity to set their affairs in order, and organize the strength of the country to resist any future invasion; but this they forbore to do, and exhausted themselves in petty feuds and mutual animosities.

The consequence was that when Baty, or Batu, the grandson of Ghengis Khan, resolved upon another invasion in 1236, Russia was completely defenceless. At the head of an enormous army he made his first descent upon the Bulgarians, who applied to the Russian princes for assistance; but these were too much engaged, either in mutual frays or in building and embellishing churches, to allow them to listen to the dictates of prudence, and give that assistance to their neighbours which might have helped to ward off their own destruction. The Bulgarians accordingly were soon subdued, and the victorious enemy passed the confines into the Principality of Riazan, which they ruthlessly pillaged, desecrating the churches and murdering the inhabitants. The Prince of Riazan besought the assistance of Yury, Prince of Vladimir, but Yury was too busy with his own affairs to heed him; besides which, the Tartars were still at what he considered a great distance from him. The invaders, however, continued to advance. After burning the town of Riazan, they

continued their progress to Pereïslaf, Rostof, Suzdal, and other towns and fiefs, ravaging each in succession, until eventually they came into the Grand Principality of Vladimir.

Yury, when he heard the news, was celebrating a marriage feast in his capital. As the Tartars approached, he withdrew from the city, the defence of which he confided to one of his chieftains, and leaving behind him his princess and two of his sons. The garrison, however, had but small means of defence, and when the Tartars appeared before Vladimir, the inhabitants, all with one accord, abandoned themselves to despair. They flocked to the churches and sanctuaries, where they in vain sought for supernatural assistance. The Tartars scaled the walls, and upon obtaining entrance, after scarcely a show of resistance, they proceeded to massacre the inhabitants, and pillage the churches and houses. Never was there a more thorough devastation. When they had glutted their thirst for blood and satiated their avarice, they set fire to the town in several places,—the princess and her ladies, with Yury's two sons, perishing in the conflagration. Yury, now driven to despair, and seeking to avenge his wrongs or perish in the attempt, collected his few remaining forces, with which he fell upon the enemy; but this first and last effort was of no avail, and, after performing prodigies of valour, he left his dead body on the field, not one of his followers escaping from the carnage.

Baty now advanced into the Principality of Novgorod, which was ruled over by Yaroslaf, a brother of the unfortunate Yury. The Tartars halted about sixty miles from the city of Novgorod, and for some reason or other, which the Russians attributed to the intercession of the Archangel Michael, retraced their steps and completely abandoned the Russian territory. Yaroslaf upon this resigned Novgorod to his son Alexander, and in 1239 took possession for himself of the sovereignty of Vladimir.

In the following year, however, Baty returned, and appeared at the head of a numerous army before the walls of Kief. The Prince was away in Hungary, but the town was defended by a general whom he had left behind him, and who opposed a strong resistance to the besiegers. As usual, it fell before the far greater strength of the Tartars, and was given to the flames. The Russian general was taken prisoner. He was summoned to appear before Baty, and, with instant death staring him in the face, he conducted himself with a coolness and intrepidity that won for him the respect of his conqueror. To avert further disaster from his country, he ventured to counsel the Tartar sovereign not to persist in the subjugation of Russia, but to turn his arms in the direction of Poland and Hungary, pointing out to him that far richer conquests would be sure to await him in those two countries. Baty listened, and not only spared his life, but conferred upon him riches and honours. Following his advice, he

advanced into Poland, and even to the borders of Germany. Returning by way of Hungary and Moravia, after subduing Croatia, Servia, Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, he finally settled on the banks of the Volga, where he founded the Khanate of Kaptschak, or the great Empire of the Golden Horde. From this he dominated the whole of Russia, whose princes were compelled to repair to him and his successors for investiture in their several fiefs and possessions—a state of things which lasted until the reign of Ivan III. (1462—1505), who finally succeeded, after many struggles, in throwing off the yoke of the Tartar invaders.

Such was the condition of Russia, bleeding at every pore from the Tartar invasions, when in 1254 we find Pope Innocent preaching a crusade against these enemies of Christianity. In his Bull issued upon the occasion he writes,—"Sane non absque cordis anxietate percepimus, quod saevissimi Tartares Christiani nominis inimici, terras Livonie, Esthonie, Pruscie et alias occupare et destruere moliuntur." ("It is not without heartfelt anxiety we have learned that the Tartars, those most cruel enemies of Christianity, are preparing to destroy and occupy the territories of Livonia, Esthonia, Prussia, and others," &c.)

The death of Baty, which occurred in 1257, was hailed with universal joy in Europe, as it was trusted that the empire of the Tartars would be split asunder by intestine feuds; but Baty's suc-

cessor, to prevent this, led on the Tartar hosts to fresh conquests. In the year 1258 Bagdad was conquered, Lithuania and Jatzwingen were invaded; and this tremendous wave of Asiatic barbarity seemed as if about to engulf the frontier bulwarks of Christianity. Poland, Prussia, and Hungary were therefore the first objects which required the assistance of Christian Europe.

The condition of the Teutonic Order in Prussia was now most perilous; for the moment it moved its forces towards the frontiers of Poland or Lithuania, a general insurrection amongst the Prussians was to be dreaded.

The Pope, therefore, in the year 1258, called upon the whole of the clergy to preach a crusade for the purpose of assisting the Poles and the Order in defending their territories. He himself called upon every able-bodied man to come forward and defend the Christian faith, coupling with his invitation every possible inducement which the successors of St. Peter could offer to those who sacrificed themselves on the altar of the true faith, and for the preservation of their country. He also entreated the knights to form intimate alliances with all the neighbouring Christian States, for the purpose of mutually assisting each other. Fortunately, however, for the Order and the rest of Europe, the Tartars at this time made a halt in their triumphant progress in Europe, although their power continued for many years to be a

standing danger to the peace of the entire world. Prussia was thus rescued from the barbarities of the Tartar or Mogul invaders; but the native inhabitants suffered considerably from the arrogance and tyranny of the knights, into whose possession it had come.

We have before said that there existed a considerable amount of laxity of morals amongst the knights; and Poppo, the Grand Master, forgetting the caution, which his predecessor always exercised, of admitting only those to the brotherhood who were thoroughly adapted to exercise authority in Prussia, now constantly sent young knights into the country who were adverse to an austere life. These disdained to occupy the modest, but comfortable habitations of their predecessors, and, considering themselves as lords of the land, forced the Prussians to erect for them castles, and many other similar buildings. For this they gave them no pay, and in fact treated them far worse than serfs. In vain the Landmaster interceded in behalf of his subjects; and at last finding that the young knights would not obey his orders, he resigned, and was succeeded in 1259 by Hartmud or Hartmann von Grumbach, a man of a most determined character, who did his utmost to reintroduce amongst the knights the same simple and moral life which had formerly existed amongst them. He ordered them to wear the coarsest garments, and live upon food which was sometimes unfit for use. Still the

Prussians found no amelioration in their hardships, which were in fact increased, and several revolts occurred in consequence. In order to increase the power of the Order in Courland, Grumbach had erected a castle, in the year 1259, in the district of Carschau, which he called St. George.

In the year 1260, as the knights were taking a convoy to the castle, they received intelligence of an inroad of 4,000 Lithuanians into Courland, where they had devastated a great part of the country, and were retiring with a large number of captives, including women and children, and much booty. The Landmaster, who had a considerable force of Courlanders and Prussians under his command, at once determined to intercept the enemy; but the Courlanders demanded as the price of their assistance that their wives and children, held by the Lithuanians, should be restored to them if they gained the victory. This the knights declined to accede to, and demanded that the wives and children should be divided amongst them as booty. The Landmaster encountered the Lithuanians at the river Durbin, on the day of the festival of St. Margaret. At the close of the battle the Courlanders attacked the knights in the rear, and a terrific slaughter ensued. The knights fought to the last. The Landmaster, Burchard von Hornhausen, the Marshal, Heinrich Botel, and a host of followers, were left dead on the field of battle. Two of the great Prussian nobles made a desperate stand

against the Courlanders. One, named Matthias, from Pomesania, had advised the Marshal Henry to dismount the Prussian cavalry, in order to prevent their flight when the combat might take place; the other, named Sclodo, from Samland, called upon his fleeing soldiers not to forsake their benefactors. He was obeyed, and they fell to a man. This devotion arose from the respect paid to the Landmaster Burchard by the mass of the Prussians, on account of his humane and just conduct towards them. The Lithuanians, after having armed themselves with the superior weapons borne by the knights and their followers, attempted to pursue their opponents, but without much success. The defeat of the knights was hailed with secret joy by the discontented Prussians, who daily gave signs of their increased hostility to the government of Von Grumbach; and it was only through the arrival of constant reinforcements of pilgrims from various parts of Germany that a general rising on the part of the Prussians was kept in abeyance.

During the expedition to Courland, it would seem that the people of Ermland and Natangen were suffering from a bad harvest, and found themselves totally unable to pay their feudal tithes to the Order. Their principal nobles determined, if possible, to induce the authorities to discontinue their oppressive exactions, and they accordingly proceeded in a large deputation to Leuzenberg,

not far from the town of Brandenburg, the residence of the Administrator Walrad, to lay before him their grievances. These he declined to listen to, and supported the acts of his subordinates, telling the petitioners that they might appeal to the Landmaster for redress. As the deputation was about to retire, he invited the members to partake of an evening banquet, which they unsuspectingly accepted. During the repast the lights were extinguished in the chamber, and on their being relighted the Administrator declared that several persons had attempted to poniard him, although unsuccessfully, on account of the armour which he wore under his clothes. The entire company declared their innocence, and unanimously pronounced that any one who should attempt to commit such a dastardly deed ought to be burnt alive. At another large meeting soon afterwards, it would seem that during their revels the Administrator affirmed that he heard mutterings of his death whispered amongst his guests. He thereupon quitted the chamber, ordered all the outlets to be barricaded, and then had the castle set on fire in various parts. The flames spread, and, there being no outlet for escape, the assembled Prussians were burned to death. This savage act appears to have been executed from private revenge; for there does not appear to be any substantial proof of the Prussians intending to assassinate the Administrator. Indeed, from the commencement of the

rule of the German Order in Prussia, there is not a single charge of assassination on record against the inhabitants.

This terrible act of fiendish revenge created the wildest feelings of hatred and detestation in the breast of every Prussian. Their patience had been taxed beyond further endurance, and the people rose to a man, demanding vengeance. The inhabitants of the different provinces now selected their respective leaders: the Samlanders chose Glande, whose baptismal name was Richard; the Natanger chose Monte, otherwise Henry; the Warmier chose Glappo, otherwise Charles; and the Pomesanians, Auctumo or Nicholas. All these nobles had been formerly held as hostages by the knights, and had been baptized and trained as soldiers. Up to this time they had remained faithful to the Order, and it was only the wrongs of their country that now drove them into insurrection. At this crisis most of the Prussian nobles who had embraced Christianity forsook their religion and secretly joined the insurgents.

In September, 1261, on the festival of St. Matthias, the rebellion broke out in all parts of the country. The first act of the Prussians was to slaughter all those Christians who resided in the open towns, or beyond the protection of the castles. Those whose lives they spared were carried away by them as hostages. But the knights as usual soon received considerable assistance from Germany

and other parts of Europe. A large army was quickly formed, and, under the command of certain members of the Order, entered Natangen, where they acted with just as much cruelty as their opponents, and retired laden with spoil. The knights and their followers now formed an entrenched camp in those districts which are at present called Brandenburg. Here they organized a second expedition against Natangen. During the absence of the invading corps, the reserve at the camp was attacked near Pokarwitz, or Pokarwen, and was totally defeated. Numerous feats of heroic daring were performed by the Christian army, two of which deserve special record. Stenzel von Bentheim of Westphalia, believing that to fall by the hand of the heathen would ensure his soul a passage to Paradise, nearly accomplished the feat of cutting his way through and back to the Prussian army for the purpose of obtaining a martyr's death. But just as he was on the eve of joining the ranks of his comrades his desire was accomplished, and he fell covered with wounds. A knight named Hirzhals, who commanded a castle near Magdeburg, having rendered himself conspicuous for his desperate bravery, the Prussians determined, if possible, to capture him alive. In this they were unfortunately successful, and as it was decided that one of their prisoners should be sacrificed on the altar of their gods, lots were drawn amongst the captives, and Hirzhals was declared to be the

victim. Monte, one of the leaders of the Prussians, who had been baptized and educated by the knights, and had received many favours at the hands of Hirzhals, in vain appealed on his behalf. Three times did Monte cast the dice, and each time did the lot fall to Hirzhals, who, believing that fate had decreed him to suffer death, expressed his willingness to encounter his fearful end. He was clad in complete armour and placed upon a horse; then both were surrounded with faggots and burnt alive. A knight named Barby, with a considerable force, shortly afterwards came to the aid of the Order. He invaded Samland, but on his return was attacked and totally defeated, he himself with most of his followers falling in the battle. Here-upon the Prussians commenced a regular siege of the important castle of Heilsberg. The garrison held out as long as they had anything to eat. They then effected their retreat in security to Elbing, where the eyes of twelve unfortunate hostages belonging to the Warmier were put out, and they were then sent back to their countrymen. The Landmaster at this time was committing every act of cruelty imaginable, and burnt two of the knights on the suspicion that they favoured the cause of the Prussians. The insurgents now be-sieged the castles of Königsberg, Bartenstein, and Kreuzburg, and to prevent the possibility of these places receiving any provisions, they erected three lines of entrenchments round each of them. This

naturally soon reduced the garrisons to starvation. The commandant of Rössel set fire to the castle, and favoured by the darkness of the night managed to escape into the neighbouring forests.

The constant ill success of the knights obliged them to remain in their strongholds. The Land-master of Liefland, George von Eichstatt, who had succeeded Burchard, was busied in holding his own against the Courlanders, and Duke Semowit was also unable to assist the knights. In Germany two rival kings claimed the imperial crown, Alphonso of Castile and Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Each of the German princes in vain attempted to obtain the lead in Germany. The cardinals and prince-bishops vied with each other in receiving bribes from the foreigner.

Such a state of affairs naturally prevented any large number of Crusaders from proceeding to the assistance of the knights. Although the Pope did his utmost to inaugurate a fresh crusade, it was not until it was left to the option of the clergy to shorten the prescribed period of twelve months' service against the heathens that Crusaders were found willing to proceed to Prussia. There was, moreover, another difficulty which prevented many of them from going to the war, namely, their unwillingness to take service under such a man as Hartmann. The Pope accordingly ordered that he should be dismissed, and he was succeeded by Heinrich von Reichenberg.

The Grand Master, Poppo von Osterna, who seems for some years to have been in declining health, completely broken down by the responsibilities which he felt he had incurred, resigned his office about the end of the year 1262 and retired to Breslau, where he ended his days. According to other accounts his resignation took place some years previously. Poppo von Osterna's career as Grand Master proves him to have been a stern and determined soldier, who flinched from no act which duty dictated. Unfortunately the support which he gave to Hartmann von Grumbach contributed to his unpopularity both amongst the knights and the Prussians, and led to his resignation.

Poppo von Osterna was succeeded by Hanno von Sangerhausen, who had formerly occupied the posts of Comthur of Althaus and Landmaster of Liefland. He is stated to have been the son St. Jutta buried at Culm. Others say he was son of a Duke of Brunswick. The precise date of his election is uncertain.

In the winter of 1263 we find the Grand Master, accompanied by Count William von Julich, Engelbert, Count of the Mark, and a considerable body of Crusaders, arriving in Prussia. They at once proceeded to the relief of Königsberg, which they reached about the end of January, 1264. The German officers wished to commence the attack at once, but Marshal Dietrich prevailed upon them to

postpone it until daybreak, when, to the astonishment of the Germans and the garrison, they found in the morning the works of the Prussians totally deserted, and no trace of the direction in which the enemy had retreated.

The knights, knowing the Prussian strategy, advised their allies to keep together, and not to enter the town until the entire neighbourhood had been thoroughly reconnoitred. These suspicions turned out to be really correct, for they found a large number of Prussians lying in ambush. They were attacked and defeated, when most of them retreated to a stronghold called Calgen or Sklume, on the road from Königsberg to Braunsberg. The knights, being now reinforced by the garrison of Königsberg, selected the anniversary of their defeat at Pokarwen as the one on which they should attack their opponents. The Prussians fought with the most heroic bravery, but the superior discipline of the knights and their German allies ensured the victory to the Christians. The place was stormed and 3,000 Prussians put to the sword. The knights were now joined by several Prussian noblemen who had remained faithful to them. Amongst them was Nalube, the son of Wargule, who commanded in Quedenau. After their victory, the knights and their allies were compelled to leave Königsberg for those other points which were threatened by the enemy; upon which the Prussians recommenced the siege of Königsberg. Having numerous vessels,

they were able to capture all those that were bringing provisions to the garrison. Amongst the defenders was a certain Lubecker, who was a diver by trade. This man, one night when it was intensely dark, swam out to the enemies' ships, and bored holes in the bottoms of several of them. The vessels filled, and as they went down all on board were drowned, including the generalissimo and some of their most important officers. The Prussians, nothing daunted, now determined to starve out the garrison by building a bridge over the Pregel, which they strengthened by erecting a strong *tête de pont* at each end. The garrison, driven to desperation, determined to cross the river and seek their death in the open field rather than die of starvation. Scarcely had they entered their ships when a storm arose which drove them on to the centre of the bridge, on which they managed to obtain a firm footing. Here they were attacked on both sides, but the narrowness of the bridge enabled them to hold out until the Prussians withdrew, when they destroyed it, together with the works erected on the banks of the river; but they were again compelled to retire into the citadel, which the Prussians, who were under the command of their celebrated leader Henry Monte, attempted to take by storm, but were obliged to retire, owing to a severe wound received by their general in leading on his men. The Prussians now again returned to their original plan of starving out the garrison,

and directed their attention principally to the capture of the town as it was more accessible. The garrison being unable to defend both town and citadel, the town and suburbs were at last stormed by the Prussians and burnt to the ground.

The position of the Order was now very critical, for the castles of Gerdo, Westotepila, Wallewona, and Kreuzburg had either been burnt by the retiring garrisons or had fallen into the hands of the Prussians. Most of the garrisons who were not overtaken in their retreat and slaughtered by the Prussians managed to get into Königsberg, and the commandant, feeling himself sufficiently strong, sallied forth and defeated the besiegers. The knights then proceeded to subjugate Quedenau, Waldan, Wargen, and Dramenau. On the return of the garrison, laden with spoil, they were attacked by the Prussians, and would have been defeated had it not been for the courage and skill of the knight Ulenbusch. The army of Königsberg now determined to attempt the conquest of a district called Bethen, with the assistance of the knights who were in Liefland, and who promised to join them on a certain day. The brethren commenced the attack before the arrival of the Livonian knights, and were on the point of losing the battle when the latter arrived and attacked the Prussians in the rear, which brought about their total defeat. All the inhabitants of the district who could bear arms were slaughtered. Their wives and children were

taken as captives. The Samlanders now tendered their submission to the Order, and gave hostages as pledges for their fidelity. The people of Ermland followed their example. These events took place in the years 1264 and 1265. About this period Mindowe, King of the Lithuanians, died, and was succeeded by his son.

The Bishop of Samland gave up a third part of the district of Witlandsort to the knights, to enable them to construct a fort for the protection of their shipping on the Frische Haff. In return he received a grant of land for the erection of a cathedral. In the arrangement with the bishop special mention is made that amber found on the ground should be divided between them, and this is remarkable as the knights considered it a royalty, amber being the chief source of their revenue. They also undertook to afford the bishop every assistance that he might require in keeping the Samlanders in order.

Early in 1265 the castle of Bartenstein, garrisoned by 400 picked men, was stormed by the Prussians, who seem to have possessed all those war machines which were then employed in sieges. Various stratagems were used by the knights during this siege in defence of the place. Such, for instance, was the following. The garrison, in order to mislead the enemy, retired into a subterraneous passage, when the Prussians, believing that the garrison had deserted the fort, rushed into it, upon which the knights sallied forth from

their place of concealment, and destroyed the wooden towers which were close to the ramparts. Another ruse was adopted after the garrison escaped to Elbing; for the works remained unoccupied, but an old blind knight, who was left behind, kept ringing the church-bells.

In the siege of the stronghold of Wehlau, a Dane named Jeroschim, by his wonderful feats of archery, compelled the Lithuanians and Sudauer to retire. No man was safe who came in sight of this terrible bowman. He is said to have killed their principal leader. Henry Monte with his followers about this time invaded Culm, and carried off a large amount of spoil; but the Landmaster, having collected a large force, overtook him in the district of Löbau, where he had formed a fortified camp. The knights drove him out of this; but, in pursuing the enemy, they seem to have become dispersed. Monte now returned, and threw himself with his united force on the stragglers, whom he totally defeated after a desperate struggle. In this encounter the Landmaster Helmerich, the Marshal Dietrich, forty knights, together with all their retainers and fighting men, were killed.

In 1265 Ludwig von Baldersheim was appointed Landmaster, and Frederick von Holdenstete Marshal. Now again ruin seemed to stare the Order in the face, having been expelled from all their places in Palestine by the victorious arms of the Mamelukes; while in Prussia they expected

in a short time to lose every hold upon the country.

In this disastrous state of things, however, Pope Clement IV., who succeeded Pope Urban in 1264, strained every nerve to obtain assistance for the German Order. Ottocar, King of Bohemia, was offered the right of suzerainty over all the country he might reconquer. The archbishops and bishops were called upon to collect alms, and induce all the fanatical and warlike spirits within their influence to join the brothers in Prussia. In 1265 the Duke of Brunswick appeared with a numerous force in Prussia. He was followed in 1266 by Otho, Margrave of Brandenburg, with his son and brother. The Order also received several vessels to assist in their operations. In an encounter which they had with the Prussians, a knight named Ulrich von Magdeburg, who was on board one of these vessels, and who was celebrated for his herculean strength, by main force tore the mast from its fastenings, and hurled it against the opposing vessel, which immediately sank, drowning fifty Prussians, who in vain sought to escape from the catastrophe. It is said of this Hercules that he could lift up two men in armour from the ground with his two fingers, which, if true, we can readily credit the exploit with the mast. The allies of the German Order were unable to open the campaign on account of the state of the marshes. They therefore employed themselves in building

a castle in Samland, which they named Brandenburg in honour of the Margrave, who had proposed erecting it.

In the year 1268 King Ottocar of Bohemia came into Prussia, but he was obliged to return on account of the severity of the winter, although it is probable that a large number of his soldiers remained with the Order. Duke Swantepol, who since his last treaty had not assisted the Prussians, died in 1266. Some years before his death he had resigned the actual government of the country to his sons. The elder was made Duke of Swetz, while the younger received Dantzic and its districts. At the time of his death Sambor, the Duke's brother, was under the Papal ban, for having taken possession of some domains which belonged to the cloister of Oliva. On his death-bed Swantepol strictly enjoined his sons to continue on friendly terms with the Order.

On the death of Swantepol, his son Mestwin became the nominal ruler of the country, and assumed the title of Duke of all Pomerania. His brother Wratislaus first called himself Duke of Dantzic, and afterwards "Duke of the Pomeranians." The uncles, Sambor and Ratibor, continued on friendly relations with the Order. During Mestwin's captivity he had been fully convinced by his intercourse with the knights that the subjugation of his country would follow, after the rest of Prussia had been subdued. On his

accession to power, therefore, he determined, in defiance of his father's injunctions, to again attempt to reoccupy the original position of his house in the affairs of Prussia. It is true that he could not count on the assistance of the Dukes of Poland or Duke Barnim of Slavien; yet in the Prussians who had revolted he knew he would find steadfast and firm allies. That Mestwin should dislike the knights was but too natural, for he had been unjustifiably detained by them in captivity for years, and during that period they had constantly attempted to induce him to enter the Order, and throw off his allegiance to his father, whose misfortunes urged him on to revenge. His first act was to gain over his brother Wratislaus. He then commenced secret negotiations with the Prussians, in which he was successful. Thus strengthened, he demanded the restitution of the island of Zanthir as an hereditary part of his patrimony. This important place had been ceded by his uncle to the knights, who naturally refused to restore the island. Thereupon Mestwin instigated the Prussians to invade the provinces of Culm and Pomesania. He himself strengthened the works of the castle of Neuenburg, on the Vistula, and manned it with a numerous garrison, which commenced making forays into the neighbouring districts of the Order. This naturally brought about reprisals, but neither side ventured on an open declaration of war until the following event led to hostilities.

A flotilla which had been fitted out to re-victual the garrisons of the Order was passing the castle of Neuenburg, on the Vistula, when it was attacked by the garrison and a party of Prussians. Being heavily laden, the Germans were obliged to throw overboard their cargo in order to escape being captured. In revenge the knights, at the head of a large force, invaded Pomerellen, under Ludwig von Baldersheim, where they committed much damage, carrying away all the herds and everything they could lay their hands on in the territory of Wratislaus, who was compelled to conclude peace. Mestwin, however, resolved to carry on the war. Consequently the Marshal, Frederick von Holdenstadt, having collected a considerable number of German settlers, together with the garrison of Brandenburg (which place he believed to be secure from attack), invaded the territory of Mestwin, where every able-bodied man they could find who bore arms was put to the sword. In the midst of his career of rapine and bloodshed Von Holdenstadt received the intelligence that Brandenburg had been captured by the Prussians in the following manner. Clappo, the leader of the Warmier, being informed by a Prussian woman, who had escaped from Brandenburg, that the greater part of the garrison was absent, advanced, captured, and destroyed the castle, the rest of the garrison taking refuge in an entrenched camp. On being informed of this, the Marshal proceeded

to Königsberg, where he embarked with his small force to relieve the knights who had been surrounded in their entrenched camp, and his attempt proved successful.

Notwithstanding the chequered success of the knights, they still continued to act on the offensive. The Comthur of Christburg, Dietrich von Rhode, made a foray into Pogesania, where, after having inflicted as much damage as he could, he commenced falling back on Christburg. In his retreat he was attacked on all sides by the infuriated inhabitants. A terrible struggle ensued, and the result was that nearly all the heathens were slain. Prussian chronicles state that the reason of the victory was that in the midst of the struggle the Pogesanians saw in the clouds the figure of the Virgin waving the flag of the Order. This they believed to be the signal of defeat, and immediately gave up all resistance. It is affirmed that there never were so many men slaughtered among the enemy by so few on the part of the knights as on this day.

Two leaders, Dirwane and Linko, at the head of a large force of Barter and Pogesanians, now invaded Culm, the infantry taking up a position between Christburg and Allyem (the site of Marienburg), while the cavalry advanced as far as Marienwerder, destroying many villages in their route. This compelled Dietrich von Rhode to march against the two forces.

The Comthur, perceiving that the real object of the Pogesanians was the capture of Christburg, which was then weakly garrisoned, determined to proceed to the relief of that important stronghold. On his arrival he found the Pogesanians in possession of some of the principal outworks. By a skilful manœuvre he was able to charge them with his entire cavalry. The Pogesanians, although defeated, contrived to effect a junction with the remnant of their force, then at Marienwerder. The Comthur now took up a position at the village of Poganste, on the banks of the river Sirgune, in order to intercept the retreat of the Pogesanians. The latter, on receiving information of the position of the knights, crossed the river during the night and attacked the Comthur in front and rear, who, totally unaware of the vicinity of the enemy, had taken no precautions against a surprise. In a very short time he lost twelve knights and 1,500 retainers, while the remnant of his army effected its escape to Christburg. The town was captured by the Prussians, and the castle of Landvolk also surrendered. Already the Pogesanians had seized nearly all the outworks of the inner fort of Christburg, in which were only three knights and three retainers, who in vain attempted to pull up the drawbridge. Suddenly a herculean Pomesanian noble, named Syrene, who had been confined in chains, broke them, and, arming himself with a

lance, rushed to the assistance of the warrior-monks, who with his help were able to raise the drawbridge, and thus prevent the entrance of the enemy.

Prussia was now the scene of most determined fighting on both sides. The Prussians seem to have been generally successful, and to have destroyed many castles and towns, the inhabitants of which were slaughtered or taken as captives.

During this period Ottocar, King of Bohemia, and Otho von Brandenburg came to Prussia with a large army; but they were unable to effect anything on account of the unfavourable condition of the weather. The river and marshes being impassable in consequence, the King of Bohemia contented himself with rebuilding Marienwerder, and Otho von Brandenburg, following his example, rebuilt the fortress of Brandenburg; after which they both returned home.

The town of Marienwerder, however, was again destroyed by the Prussians. In Livonia, although the knights had an army of 18,000 picked troops, it was with the greatest difficulty that they could hold their ground against the attacks of the Lithuanians, Russians, and Samogitians. So desperate was the condition of the Order, that in 1269 the Landmaster, Ludwig von Baldersheim, resigned, and was temporarily succeeded by Conrad von Thierberg, a man in every way qualified to raise the drooping spirits of the Order. His first act

was to despatch the Bishops of Samland and Culm to Germany, to assist the Bishop of Dorpat in organizing a fresh crusade.

In 1271 Dietrich von Gatersleben became Landmaster. It must be said to his credit that he saw that he was inferior in capacity to his Marshal, and therefore contented himself with giving the latter his utmost support. The terrible struggles in which the knights had been engaged had happily formed some first-rate soldiers. With these the Marshal, Conrad von Thierberg, recommenced the attempt to drive the Prussians out of the country. He first strengthened the castles which the knights still held. This he was able to accomplish because the Prussians remained, on the whole, quiet in their possessions. In fact, they only made one inroad into the knights' territory, from which they retired after having taken a considerable amount of plunder. In order to direct his entire army against the Prussians, the Marshal found it necessary to come to a friendly settlement with Boleslaus, Duke of Poland, whose subjects had availed themselves of the misfortunes of the knights to make several forays into their territory. This he succeeded in effecting, although with some difficulty.

Mestwin, the great supporter of the Prussians, had for some time been unable to render them any assistance, on account of a struggle which was then going on between himself and his brother Wratislaus, who, on being expelled, invoked the aid of

Semowit, Duke of Masovia. Mestwin thereupon applied to Conrad, Margrave of Brandenburg, for assistance, and pledged the town and castle of Dantzic for any expense he might incur in the war.

In the meanwhile Wratislaus died, so that Mestwin became the undisputed sovereign of the whole country. Conrad of Brandenburg now refused to evacuate Dantzic, and in the year 1273 Mestwin formally laid siege to the town, and from this quarter the Marshal had nothing to fear.

The accession of Gregory IX. in 1271 to the Pontificate was also of great importance to the knights, as by his endeavours to revive the Christian enthusiasm for the recovery of the Holy Land, the Prussian bishops were able to call the attention of the Germans to the reverses of the Teutonic Order, and the rapid increase of the power of the heathens. Towards the end of the year 1272, Dietrich, Margrave of Meissen, son of the celebrated Henry von Meissen, who had so greatly assisted the knights in the early crusades against the heathens, arrived in Prussia with a considerable force. They were mostly from the Rhine Province, and the greater part of them possessed great military experience. As the winter was highly favourable for a campaign, the new Crusaders, together with the troops of the knights in Pomesania, advanced into Ermland, where they met with no resistance. This encouraged them to advance into the interior of Natangen, which they devastated by fire and

sword. So great was the destruction of life and property that the inhabitants of Natangen, Warmien, and Barten tendered their submission, and their leaders, Dirwane, Linko, Monte, and Clappo, either fell in battle or were executed by the knights. The Margrave of Meissen, before leaving Prussia, allowed thirty-five of his best soldiers to enter the Order, and gave them many valuable presents. In 1273 the war again broke out with Pogesania. It appears that a party of the latter made a raid in the vicinity of Elbing. The knights, having collected a considerable force, invaded the province and captured the stronghold of Heilsberg. In 1273 we find that the Pope granted to the German Order in Prussia the important right of inheriting and possessing property like any other persons, with the exception of that which appertained to the fiefs. This was a deathblow to the principles on which the Order was founded, because their property was in common and all were equal, merit alone conferring the right of superiority. But in this the Pope was the gainer, because he could now have some chance of placing his own friends at the head of the Order, which had now assumed a secular character. In fact, it was nothing less than opening the door of the chapel of austere virtue and morality to bribery, corruption, and dissipation.

The Sudauer, indignant at the submission of their neighbours, now surprised, captured, and burnt the

castle of Bartenstein, which had been recaptured by the knights. Encouraged by their success, they advanced against Beselede, which only escaped capture through the patriotic valour of a Prussian heroine, who by her enthusiasm excited the garrison to make a vigorous sortie, and compelled the enemy to raise the siege. This repulse induced the Sudauer to withdraw to their own territory. On the 8th of July, 1275, the Grand Master died at Treves. From his acts we may conclude that he was thoroughly devoted to the interests of the Order, but did not sufficiently understand the character of the Prussians, who only required a firm but just government.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1275–1290.

Hartmann von Heldrungen elected Grand Master—Marienburg Built—Invasion of Schalauen—Outbreak of the Schalauer under Boese—Invasion by the Sudauer under Scomando (1277)—Conrad von Feuchtwangen made Landmaster of Prussia and Liefland—Conrad resigns (1280)—Invasion of Samland—Acquisition of Territory in Pomerania—Death of the Grand Master at Acre (1283)—Burchard von Schwenden elected Grand Master—Towns—Commerce—Coinage—Military Establishments—Revenue and Government—War with Lithuania—Grand Master returns to Germany—Invasion of Prussia by Grand Duke Witen—Defeat of the Lithuanians—Proposed Invasion of Samogitia—Mission of the Grand Master to Rome—Military Affairs in the East—Futile Attempts to bring about the Union of the Three Orders—Resignation and Death of the Grand Master (1290).

HANNO VON SANGERHAUSEN was succeeded by Hartmann von Heldrungen, a man far advanced in years, but on account of his antecedents considered fully competent to cope with the difficulties which encircled the Order. Rudolf of Hapsburg, who was elected Emperor in 1273, had up to this period

been strenuously endeavouring to heal the wounds caused by the constant struggles which had been going on in his beloved Fatherland. As a devout and good Catholic, the Emperor naturally was a well-wisher of the Order. Besides, as a statesman and politician he knew that the brotherhood could be of great assistance to him in his work of pacification in Germany. Rudolf had already guaranteed all the former privileges and rights of the Order, and had sent them from time to time reinforcements. The Grand Master, Hartmann von Heldrungen, being convinced that he could depend on the Emperor on account of his personal friendship towards him, sought to gain popularity by introducing measures to attract and assist the German immigrants, and almost his first act was to alleviate the hardships under which the colonists laboured, as well as those of the Prussians who remained faithful to the Order; unfortunately the knights appear not to have understood the character of their Prussian allies whom they continued to treat as inferiors.

The Governor of Samland now overran the district of Catthau. Some of the inhabitants submitted, but many retired into Lithuania rather than remain under the rule of the knights. The Landmaster, Conrad von Thierberg, who had formerly been Marshal, invaded Nadrauen, devastated the country, and captured the stronghold of Kaminiswike. This gave a certain amount of peace and se-

curity to those districts which were held by the knights. Albert, Bishop of Pomesania, profiting by this state of affairs, built the town and castle of Riesenburg, and the Landmaster commenced the erection of Marienburg, the future residence of the Grand Masters.

The submission of the Nadrauer enabled the Landmaster to undertake the subjugation of the Schalauer, whose territory was intersected by the river Memel. Conrad von Thierberg collected a large fleet, on board of which were a thousand picked soldiers. With these he landed, and captured the important stronghold of Ragnit, which had on a former occasion withstood a siege of nine years by the Russians and Lithuanians, as there was an extensive fish-tank within the fortifications, which was always kept plentifully supplied with the largest fish.

The Schalauer now surprised and captured the castle of Labiau, which they burnt. It appears that having embarked in some vessels they sailed down the river to the castle, where, favoured by the darkness of the night, they managed to clamber up the heights, and at the dawn of morning rushed into the works. The Landmaster thereupon invaded the country of the Schalauer with his whole available force. Steinegele, the gallant leader of the Schalauer, who made a most obstinate resistance, lost his life in an ambuscade.

Soreka, a Schalauer of rank and commandant of a fort of the same name, attempted to entrap the Comthur of Memel and his retainers in the following manner. Soreka sent word to the governor that he wished to become a Christian, but fearing the vengeance of his countrymen, he requested the Comthur to attack him in his castle, which should be at once surrendered, and then as a prisoner he would become a Christian. The Comthur seems actually to have believed this, but being informed on his route that Soreka had assembled a large force to effect his capture, he, by a rapid march, surprised and defeated his opponent, who was taken prisoner. During the night Soreka broke the thick thongs with which he was bound, fell upon his captors, and was not overpowered until after he had killed several of them. His strength, it is stated, was so great that he actually assaulted and killed a knight and three squires who came to the assistance of the guard.

Conrad von Thierberg, by his constant inroads into Schalauen, induced three of its principal leaders to become Christians. So beggared was the country that many of the inhabitants followed the example of their nobles and submitted. A fresh revolt soon broke out, which arose as follows. Boese or Bonse, chamberlain or judge at Pobesen, had lost his sons, and from the age of his wife was without hope of an heir. He therefore, after having divided his fortune with her, contracted, with the consent of

his first wife, a second marriage. He had by so doing in no way broken the laws of the country, as it was quite customary to have two wives; but as soon as the circumstance came to the ears of the Bishop of Samland and his clergy, they publicly condemned him, and threatened to declare the offspring of his second wife illegitimate. Naturally enough, Boese resented the interference of the bishop, and at his instigation his countrymen rose up in arms. The Governor of Samland, Dietrich von Liedelau, who had just returned from Germany, soon quelled the insurrection, and took Boese prisoner, whose body he ordered to be torn to [pieces by four horses. The insurgents, who numbered about 3,000, then chose a new leader, Garpe by name, and it was only after a great deal of useless bloodshed that the outbreak was quelled.

The Sudauer, a powerful and quarrelsome tribe, still opposed the advance of the knights in the conquest of Prussia. War was therefore continually being carried on with the Sudauer, who, although suffering occasional defeats, yet made a successful resistance. The Comthur of Culm, Berthold von Nordthausen, a grasping and weak-minded man, being found unfit to hold such an important office, his resignation was demanded, and he was succeeded by Hermann von Schönsberg, who in a very short time cleared the country of the foraging parties of the Sudauer.

In 1277 this same tribe, who were now led by

the renowned Scomando, again invaded the knights' territory, and advanced against the castle of Porlowitz: appearing before its walls and finding that there was little prospect of effecting its capture, they proposed to the garrison to retire to their own country, on condition of being furnished with two guides to conduct them. On their way back, however, they seem to have employed themselves in destroying or carrying off all the property they could lay hands on in the districts of Culm, Marienwerder, and Christburg. To prevent the repetition of these inroads, Conrad von Thierberg determined to transfer the seat of war into the heart of the enemy's country, although he could not, as before, reckon on reinforcements from Germany; for since the death of Gregory X., in 1276, no less than four Popes had occupied the Papal chair, not one of whom could afford to interest himself in behalf of the Order. To carry out his object, Conrad placed himself at the head of 1,500 men and advanced into Kimenow, which he thoroughly devastated. Three thousand Sudauer attempted to intercept him on his return, but he completely routed them near the forest of Winse.

With the object of continually harassing their opponents, the knights now availed themselves of the guerrilla tactics which they had practised in their former wars, in which they were assisted by various native chiefs, who had been induced to join the Order, and who distinguished themselves

as much by their fidelity and attachment to the knights as by their courage and valour in battle. The exploits of one of these guerrilla captains, Colin by name, deserve some mention. This soldier was originally a peaceable citizen of Culm, but his sisters having been outraged by the Prussians, he determined to be revenged. It is related that he once surprised and killed with his own hand ten Sudauer soldiers who were bathing. On another occasion, his little troop having encamped for the night and set a watch, the latter were overcome by fatigue and fell asleep. The Prussians now coming up, killed one of the sentinels, and bound the other to a tree. Colin's band being roused from their sleep, a desperate struggle ensued, in which the valiant chief, although severely wounded, despatched all his opponents. After the combat, the sentinel who had been tied up, managing to release himself, conveyed his wounded chief, with the arms and horses of the slain, to Rheden.

Shortly after his recovery Colin, with only fifteen men, seized and destroyed a Sudauer stronghold, but on returning home he and his small band were suddenly attacked by a troop of the enemy who lay in ambush. Four were killed, but the other eleven managed to escape, leaving their arms behind. The Sudauer, not fearing a counter attack, now sat down to enjoy the repast which Colin's men had been preparing, but soon, becoming overcome by wine, fell asleep without placing any sentries.

The guerrilla chief, however, soon returned and massacred them in their drunken slumber. It is also related that when once on an expedition with a comrade, the two were suddenly seized by five Prussians, who dragged them from their horses and bound them to a tree. The horses of Colin and his comrade having broken loose, three of the Prussians galloped after them, leaving two behind to guard the two men. One of the Prussians having drawn his sword to kill the captives, Colin derided him for not first stripping them of their clothes, which would be spoiled and rendered useless. The Prussian, appreciating the remark, thereupon removed the bonds, upon which Colin seized a sword with which he slew his two antagonists.

In 1279 Conrad von Thierberg, the Landmaster, who had also for some time discharged the duties of Marshal, resigned on account of failing health, and was succeeded by Conrad von Feuchtwangen, who was obliged temporarily to perform also the duties of the Master of Liefland, as that functionary had fallen in a recent battle with the heathens. For from time to time the enemies of the knights occupying the provinces adjoining Liefland were constantly receiving reinforcements from their Russian neighbours as well as from the Lithuanians, who, whenever unsuccessful against the Order in Prussia, invariably attacked Liefland, which was defended by a very inferior force. It was whilst attempting to check the advance of an overwhelm-

ing horde of Lithuanians, Russians and Sudauer, that the Master of Liefland met his untimely death. Conrad von Thierberg the younger, now Marshal, made an inroad into the district of Pokima, and on his retreat with a large booty, to prevent his pursuers overtaking him, during the night daringly crossed the frozen lake of Negotin, which is now called the Lewentin Lake. The ice had already begun to yield, and scarcely had the last man passed when it broke up. Conrad von Feuchtwangen, meanwhile, resigned the post of Master of Liefland in favour of Mangold von Sternberg, who was then Comthur of Königsberg.

In 1280 the Sudauer and Lithuanians determined to make a combined advance on Samland. The knights and the settlers, however, anticipated the invasion, and retreated to their castle, taking with them all their worldly effects, the enemy finding the country stripped of every means of subsistence. This forced them to retire, and during the ten days that they were in Samland, Ulrich Bayer, Comthur of Tapiau, an enterprising and rapacious knight, profiting by their absence from their own country, invaded Sudauen, which, being undefended, was devastated and plundered at leisure.

The Landmaster, Conrad von Feuchtwangen, now followed up his success by invading the territory of Krasima, which was governed by Scomando, who had collected under his banner all the available fighting men in the country, and several engage-

ments ensued, in one of which Ulrich lost his life. A curious incident occurred during the campaign. A brother of the Order, Ludwig Liebenzell, having fallen into the hands of the enemy, Scomando, who, himself a courageous man, admired bravery in others, not only permitted no one to molest Liebenzell, but even entertained him at his board. A Sudauer having insulted the prisoner, Scomando compelled him to make honourable reparation by the duel. Liebenzell killed his adversary, and was then safely escorted into the territory of the Order by command of his generous captor.

Scomando, finding it impossible to withstand the repeated attacks of the knights, retired into Lithuania, but here the misfortunes of his country induced him again to take up arms. In the renewed struggle he was totally defeated, and surrendered with all his followers. In recognition of his noble character, the knights made him a member of their brotherhood.

We have before seen that Sambor, Duke of Pomerania, had taken possession of certain districts belonging to the celebrated cloister of Oliva. In the year 1275 he was induced by the knights to cede the district of Mewe to them, and, to make the engagement more binding, he now undertook that, in case the cloister regained possession of it, he would indemnify the knights for the loss. In order to legalize this proceeding, the Grand Master instigated the Emperor Rudolf to guarantee

for ever all the property and privileges which they had received from the ducal house of Pomerania.

In 1282 the Order obtained fresh acquisitions of territory, and ultimately Mestwin renounced all his rights to the district of Mewe, already ceded to the knights by his brother Sambor, the Papal Legate, Philip, who arranged this compromise, managing that the cloister of Oliva should retain undisputed possession of the lands it then held.

In 1283 two expeditions were undertaken into Silian, in the country of the Sudauer; one under Conrad von Thierberg, the other under Holle of Brandenburg. The latter was unsuccessful, but Von Thierberg overran the country. On the return homewards the knight Ludwig von Liebenzell, being seriously wounded, was left behind as dead in the snow, and was found by the Sudauer nearly frozen. In the hope of saving his life they placed him on the back of one of the horses, when, either from the motion or the warmth of the horse, he revived. He was treated with much humanity, and, when his wounds were healed, was given into the charge of a noble Sudauer, named Katingerde, whom he induced to join the knights, together with nearly 1,600 of his followers. The Marshal allotted a place in Samland for them to settle in, in the hope that they would form the nucleus of a colony of trustworthy subjects for the defence of the frontiers; and on the capture of the burg of

Kimenau by the knights, Gedete with 1,500 Sudauer prisoners were sent to join them.

Scudo, the last leader of this brave and independent tribe, despairing of the fortunes of his country, collected all his followers together and retired into Lithuania, after having destroyed everything in the districts over which he ruled; so that this once populous and rich territory was nothing but a desert when it fell into the hands of the conquerors. The submission of Scudo concluded a war which had lasted upwards of fifty years, and which had been waged with unabating persistence by the knights, under the pretext that it was for the development of those great truths which were taught by a merciful Saviour. Whatever may have been the faults of the Prussians, it cannot be denied that they displayed the greatest tolerance towards those of their fellow countrymen who had embraced the Christian faith, and it was not until they were convinced that conversion meant subjugation and persecution, that they opposed the spread of the new religion.

The Grand Master, Hartmann von Heldrungen, died on the 19th of August, 1283, at Acre, and had nearly reached his hundredth birthday when he expired, having been a member of the Order nearly half a century. During the early part of his career he distinguished himself by his great tact, and was therefore regarded as one of the most promising pupils of Hermann von Salza. He took an active

part in the arrangements for the incorporation of the Knights of the Sword with the Teutonic Order, and in a great measure contributed to the successful result of the negotiations.

Some time previous to the death of Heldrungen, the Master of Liefland, Mangold von Sternberg, had resolved to make a long stay in Germany, so as to arrange certain affairs of the Order in connexion with Liefland, but on hearing of the death of the aged Grand Master he proceeded at once to Acre to take part in the new election. The choice of the Chapter fell upon a knight named Burchard von Schwenden, who had formerly been Landmaster in Sicily, and had passed the greater part of his life in the East. At this same Chapter Conrad von Feuchtwangen was elected Deutschmaster, and Mangold von Sternberg was raised to the dignity of Landmaster of Prussia. This latter knight, however, did not long survive his appointment, for on his return voyage he was seized with a violent fever which terminated his career.

By the premature death of Von Sternberg Prussia lost a great friend, for on his first arrival in the country the agricultural industry had been nearly ruined, and the education of the masses entirely neglected; but through his exertions numerous immigrants flocked to Prussia from all parts of Germany. Amongst them were, as before, skilled artisans and small land-proprietors, who brought with them labourers and their families. These

settlers at once received grants of land, and, for the education of their children, fresh schools were erected and a number of teachers appointed.

Mangold von Sternberg also greatly improved and strengthened many of the towns, principally Marienburg, where he constructed an aqueduct thirty miles in length, to supply the inhabitants with water, and to fill the moat and ditches round the citadel in case of siege.

Before resuming the course of events, it may be advisable to take a glance at the political and social condition of the country and its inhabitants. With regard to the position of the native nobility, the Withings formed the aristocracy among the Prussians. They were for the most part large land-proprietors, and exercised no little authority over their tenants. On the subjugation of the territory by the knights, they were allowed to retain their rank as well as certain privileges and immunities, which induced many of them to remain faithful to the Order.

The Withings continued to belong to the nobility, and their prerogatives were guaranteed by a special charter. Originally these privileges were enjoyed only by those of aristocratic birth, but in course of time they were conferred even on persons of plebeian origin, if they distinguished themselves in the army of the Order by feats of valour or by their fidelity. Each Withing possessed a mansion

and generally a two-fold estate, namely, the patrimonial property and that which he had received from the Order. The knights generally confirmed the Withings in the possession of their inheritance, and sometimes released them from tithes, or military duties of any kind. The estate was therefore a freehold bound by no conditions. Not so, however, that which the Withing received as a gift from the Order, which he possessed by a kind of feudal tenure, in return for services to be rendered. All the occupants of the estate were considered as his vassals, and consequently as under his complete authority. In course of time the Withing came to consider his tenants almost as serfs, and sold them and their belongings at his pleasure; but he was bound to aid the knights in their wars, as well as in erecting castles and fortifications around the cities. In some cases, he paid to the Order annually a certain amount of wax, or a Culm pfenning, as an acknowledgment of its supremacy. Whenever the tenants of the estate had run away, or become extinct, the Withing was bound to replace them by others.

The Prussian nobles or warriors received a certain number of families under their protection, according to their standing and importance, numbering in some instances as many as five-and-twenty, to whom they stood in the relation of feudal lord.

The right of inheritance differed very much in the case of the Withing and his vassals. On the death of the former, the property could be divided among the children, sons and daughters, or other relations; whereas, in the case of the latter, the property could only be inherited by the son in direct line, and not by the daughter or other relations. In case of the failure of issue, the property lapsed again into the hands of the Order. This was so far modified by a decree in 1296, that relatives could inherit in case of the failure of a direct heir. The privileges enjoyed by the Withings were subsequently extended to other Prussians who manifested their partiality to the knights, or had given material assistance in the wars which they constantly waged with the Prussians.

The freeholders were next in rank to the Withings. These were minor occupiers of land, and were so called in consequence of possessing their estates free from tithe. They did not enjoy any special privileges, and, as they held their lands as fiefs, they were bound in time of war to assist the knights with a certain number of armed retainers. Moreover, the inheritance passed from father to son in direct line, so that in case of failure of heirs, the property returned to the Order. It does not appear clear whether the eldest son was the heir direct, or whether the knights appointed an heir from among the male children; nor do they

appear at all times to have been exempt from tithe, for we find that the Landmaster, Conrad von Thierberg, imposed an annual tribute of a bushel of wheat and rye.

Like the Withings, the more wealthy freeholders had their vassals or sub-tenants, attached to their land or acquired by purchase. These tenants were, however, not bound to the soil, but could be transferred to other estates, and were under the jurisdiction of the Order.

The freeholder, like the Withing, was bound to afford military aid to the knights whenever called upon, and if he possessed vassals, these also were bound to appear fully armed and equipped whenever summoned. On comparing the Withings with the freeholders, we find that the latter were far the more numerous, but both were, to a certain extent, vassals of the Order, under similar obligations to afford aid in time of war, and in the erection of strongholds.

Besides the two classes just mentioned, the Cölmer formed another kind of landowners, inasmuch as they held their estates in accordance with the Charter of Culm. It appears that the privileges of this charter were originally only extended to German immigrants, whom it was considered advisable to place on the same footing as the inhabitants of Culm and Thorn, but in course of time the Order extended them to native Prussians in the hope of conciliating them.

The extension of the Culm Charter was sometimes confined merely to special clauses—as, for instance, that the estate was regarded as an allodium according to the charter, and consequently subject to tithe—or it might simply have reference to the Culm law of inheritance.

The distinction between freeholders and Cölmer was this: that the latter were obliged to pay an annual tribute by way of rent, consisting of two pounds of wax, or a Culm pfenning, or three Thorn pfennings, which had to be paid regularly on an appointed day in acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Order. However, there were many exceptions made. Some of the subjects had particular immunities, and were not expected to afford military aid or to assist in the erection of castles. When the estate was sold, the purchaser and vendor were obliged to obtain the sanction of the Landmaster or of the Comthur of the district, as the knights reserved the right of purchase.

The lower orders were either peasants or serfs, and are sometimes spoken of as villagers, sometimes as folk or vassals. It may therefore be safely inferred that the two classes were distinct, and that the former belonged to the village communes, and enjoyed the village rights; whereas the vassals were more like serfs of some feudal lord, exercising almost unlimited authority, except in cases of life and death. These serfs were mostly employed in the tilling of the soil, and it may be

presumed that they were chiefly composed of prisoners taken in war.

After the conquest of the country the knights proceeded to give large grants of land to their faithful adherents, and to degrade such of the natives as had offered resistance, or were known to be hostile to the Order. In consequence, the number of serfs and humble dependents was considerably increased. At the same time the mass of the people remained in the same condition as before, except that they became indirectly subjects of the Order; so that every one, however large or small his property, was bound by the rules, restrictions, and obligations imposed by the knights.

The peasant, however, seldom possessed more than one hide of land, which, on his decease without family, became the property of the Order. The peasants, like the other classes, were bound to contribute a tenth part of their income and a bushel of wheat for every hide of land, and in case of war they were called upon to join the army of the knights, or to aid in the erection of fortifications.

As soon as the knights made any fresh conquest, they invariably invited immigrants from all parts of Germany to occupy the newly acquired territory. The first colonists settled in Pomesania, Culm, and Pogesania. The grants of land which they received and their privileges were based upon the Charter of Culm.

The earliest grant which can be authenticated is one made to a certain Dietrich von Tiefenau, consisting of 300 Flemish hides of land, the agricultural tithes of three villages, and the right of fishing in the Nogat. In return he paid a yearly tribute of two mark-pounds (two markpfund) of wax, and a bushel of wheat and barley for every ploughed field. Whenever the knights bestowed land upon a settler, they stipulated that, if the colonist wished to sell his property, the purchaser must be neither Pole nor Pomesanian, and that he should furnish for the aid of the Order two soldiers and a servant in case of war; moreover, that all persons residing on the property were bound to defend the country in the same manner as the rest of the subjects of the Order.

Every settler had to go through the formality of purchasing the land by a nominal sum, as the property was always considered as a fief of the Order. The right of inheritance was also granted to the next-of-kin. The chase of the beaver and the working of mines were reserved by the knights, who hence derived a considerable revenue. The colonist could not sell any portion of his land without the express permission of the Landmaster, to whom notice was given of all such transactions. These measures greatly interfered with the acquisition of freehold property, and, moreover, the onerous duties required from the settlers prevented them from cultivating more land than was actually necessary for their support.

During any Prussian insurrection the greater part of the settlers had to seek refuge behind the walls of the different strongholds, through which they were great sufferers, at the same time the brunt of quelling any revolt of the Prussians fell on their shoulders. They therefore availed themselves of the first convenient opportunity to induce the Grand Master not to compel them to engage in any hostile expedition beyond the frontiers of Samland, Ermland, Natangen, Barterland, and Pogesania.

The Bishop of Samland gave over to the colonists some of the ecclesiastical domains, in order to induce them to garrison his burgs. In 1285 all fresh property which the colonists had acquired during the suppression of the revolt was formally guaranteed to them according to the Charter of Culm.

The landowners were allowed to exercise jurisdiction in their domains, except on the high roads, which were under the control of the knights. The administration of justice was to be in accordance with the regulations of the Order. They were not to inflict capital punishment or torture without the sanction of the knights. It was left optional for the feudal lord to take part in any foreign expedition. This prerogative was, we are sorry to say, often exercised with unremitting severity, not only inflicting considerable damage on the proprietor of the soil, but also leading to frequent outbreaks on the part of the peasantry; and his peasants and

retainers were compelled to assist in the erection of castles, and to take part in any campaign beyond the frontiers of the province to which they belonged.

As many of the German settlers were of noble extraction, they introduced the system so much in vogue in Germany, viz. the erection of a burg for the defence of their patrimony. This was the foundation of the landed knights or landed nobility, who assumed the title of Ritter.

In order to create villages, a district was given to a settler, on condition that he should locate on a certain spot a prescribed number of peasants, who had each to receive an allotment of land. The amount of tribute which these peasants had to pay to their feudal lord was prescribed by the Order or the bishop. It was generally understood that no payment would be required from the settler for the first ten or twelve years.

The feudal lord had a certain portion of the land ceded to himself, and he and his successors exercised the office of burgomaster in the village. One-third of the fiefs was allotted to him, together with the tribute which the peasants had to pay him. If a church was erected, a portion of land was attached to it as an endowment, and the tithes which the peasantry had to pay to the priest were never remitted. Shopkeepers and mechanics paid a regular tax to the mayor of the village, which was generally named after him, he being held responsible for the maintenance of order and the due payment

of taxes. Those villages that did not possess a mayor were under the direct supervision of the Comthur of the neighbouring district, but these were inhabited solely by Prussians; and in after years Prussian noblemen were allowed to exercise the right of mayors in them. In villages composed partly of Germans and partly of Prussians, the mayor had no jurisdiction over the latter, as they always were placed under the control of the representative of the knights. The Wends of Pomerania, who resided in the villages, were treated in the same manner as the Prussians.

From the description we have given of the different classes of society, it must be apparent to the reader that on paper the higher ranks of Prussians enjoyed similar rights to those accorded to the foreign element, and it was only in the lower classes that the inequality manifested itself; but the history of the development of Germanism in Prussia proves that the Teutonic race knew but too well how to make its superiority felt in the conquered lands.

Towns.

The towns of Prussia had their origin in the location of settlers in the vicinity of the castles belonging to the knights. As soon as external danger passed away, hamlets and villages arose in the vicinity. If the position was favourable to trade, in course of time it became a town; but close

to it was always to be found a gigantic sentinel in the shape of a stronghold. The uncertain state of the country forced the inhabitants to enclose the site of their habitations with strong walls, and the surrounding district was generally held on the condition that the inhabitants should pay a certain tribute to the captain of the burg, and defend it in case of attack. Hence arose the name of "Burgleute," equivalent to the English burgher or citizen.

When a village reached the dimensions of a town, as regards wealth and extent, the bishop or Landmaster granted it civic rights. Some towns enjoyed the privileges of Culm, some of Lubeck, and some remained unchanged in condition. Many of them had their hereditary mayors; others had the right of electing a new one annually. In the former case the mayors could sell the dignity, with the permission of the Order, to whom, on their families becoming extinct, the post lapsed. Every mayor was assisted by a town council, several of whom formed a privy council, and the municipality had the entire direction of civic affairs in its hands, with the exception of the tolls of bridges and ferries, which were under the partial jurisdiction of the neighbouring commandant.

In case of any municipality being unable to come to a decision, the question was referred to that of Culm. Foreigners were always under the authority of the neighbouring Comthur, except

when they had committed a crime against a citizen, when they were judged by the mayor. This peculiar circumstance shows how jealous the early Prussian citizens were as regards foreign influence, and already it would seem that there existed a patrician element in the larger towns, which controlled the election of the members of the corporation.

No act of the municipality was legal until it had received the sanction of the representatives of the Landmaster. It was only in later years that towns were exempted from the payment of tribute money or manual labour. The citizens of nearly all the burgs were liable to military service. Elbing appears to have been excepted on account of its possessing a charter similar to that of the parent town, Lubeck. Every citizen could dispose of his property at will. No church or cloister could be erected without the consent of the bishop or the Order, and the same held good with reference to any present endowment. All property given to ecclesiastical institutions was obliged to be put up for sale by auction within twelve months. The defence and erection of works were entirely in the hands of the governing power. As regards commerce, at first everything was sold in the common market; but by degrees booths and shops were erected, which had to pay a tax for this privilege. One-half belonged to the Order, the remainder either to the town or to the burgomaster, to defray the necessary expenses of regulating the markets.

Every town was obliged to have a bathing establishment. In order to increase the industry of the townspeople and the agriculturists, weekly markets were established in many towns, at which not only every citizen could traffic with his wares, but the neighbouring peasants could also sell their produce. The art of weaving appears at a very early period to have been promoted by the Order. The chief mart was in New Holland, so called from its having been founded by the Dutch; and as the demand for this peculiar kind of labour increased, many Dutchmen became settlers in different towns of Prussia. The Order at times did not levy any tax on small tradesmen, and even went so far as to allow well-known industrious citizens to convey their merchandise to any spot without payment of tolls or duties for a certain period.

As regards external commerce, the first of the commercial treaties which the knights concluded was between them and Poland, Masovia, and Cujavia.

In an agreement between the Order and Wladislaus, Duke of Great Poland, in 1238, it was arranged that every one provided with a pass of the Order should be allowed to proceed to any part of the dominions of the Duke, for the purchase of articles of daily consumption, without paying any impost, except highway tolls, and a small duty on salt, herrings, and cloth. The principal articles which the Germans received from Poland consisted of coloured

linen, salt, pepper, and spirits; but the constant disorders in that country, and the extortions of the Polish officials, at times brought about a regular dead-lock in trade between the two territories. In 1248 a fresh treaty, defining more clearly the duties to be paid, was ratified.

In the earlier part of our work, we have seen that Elbing was built near the site of one of the great commercial towns of Old Prussia, which had carried on an extensive trade with the Baltic during a long period of years. Ever since its foundation the Lubeckers were constantly attempting to open up fresh markets on the Prussian coast. In 1275 they received permission from the Emperor Rudolf to conclude treaties with trading ports in Prussia, but the difficulties of trade between Prussia and Lubeck was increased by the number of pirates that infested the Baltic. The Order, having no ships of war at first, were obliged to confine themselves to protecting the coasting trade, and this they did by erecting a castle at Withlandsort, to secure the safe passage of vessels. Elbing must have carried on a considerable trade with Lubeck, for we find it named as one of the fifteen Hanseatic towns which sent an envoy to Novgorod to settle a commercial dispute, about the year 1290. The Prussian insurrections naturally prevented the knights from paying much attention to commerce on the Baltic, which was left entirely to private enterprise. Elbing,

however, became the chief market between the east and west, and was the great commercial depôt of amber, which, as we have already seen, formed the most lucrative source of revenue to the knights.

From a treaty concluded by this seaport with Philip IV. of France, we gather that commercial transactions of considerable importance took place between it and the west of Europe. The merchants of Elbing also carried on a flourishing trade with Novgorod, at that time the great Russian emporium of trade with the east.

Most of the principal towns had received the right of coining their own money, under the supervision of the military commandant of the neighbouring Comthur. The Grand Master, as sovereign in Prussia, had the right of selling this privilege which was generally given to the most wealthy and respectable citizen of the town. There was only one common standard of coinage, which originally appears to have been of a superior character, but in course of time, in consequence of pecuniary difficulties, was much debased.

Government.

The position of the Teutonic Order was of so extraordinary a nature, that it is necessary the reader should fully understand that the knights were simply a number of warrior-monks, despatched by the Pope to force the heathens of Prussia to embrace Christianity, and that as the reward for

their services that country was given to them as a fief, which Innocent IV. converted into a perpetual one, on the understanding that the Order should pay a yearly tribute in token of vassalship, the Grand Master being formally invested with the Papal ring of suzerainty over all the territory which the knights might obtain for the Papacy.

It has been fully seen that the knights, in order to obtain more independence of action, sided alternately with the Emperors and the Pope; and there can be little doubt that they intended ultimately to have a distinct church of their own, to secure which, and to gain the supremacy in all ecclesiastical matters, they sought to have none but priests of their own Order in Prussia.

The official residence of the head of the Order was originally at Acre. At times he appears to have taken up his abode at Venice, but Acre remained the recognized capital until its capture, when he established himself at Venice. Occasionally a Grand Master, on finding his end approaching, entrusted the great seal of office to a brother of spotless character, who, as stadtholder, conducted the affairs of the Order until the death of the former. The knights sometimes appointed another of the fraternity to rule over them during the interregnum, or allowed the stadtholder to continue to do so until the election of a new head of the Order, which generally took place within a few months after the vacancy. The clothes of the

deceased dignitary were divided amongst the poor, and the anniversary of his death was celebrated by a requiem. A poor man was also supported for a whole year by the Order on the death of the Grand Master; likewise, when an ordinary brother died, some poor person was maintained for forty days.

On the Grandmastership being vacant, the knight who had been entrusted with the great seal called together the most influential of the brotherhood, especially the Landmasters of Prussia and Liefland, and the Deutschmaster, each of the Landmasters, before he left his province, having to appoint some person to carry on the government during his absence, and had also to bring with him one of his most able advisers.

When the brothers were assembled at the appointed rendezvous, divine service was performed; each of them had to repeat fifteen Paternosters, and a repast was served up to thirteen poor persons. In the convent where the election was to take place a similar service was held, and a repast was served up to three poor people. After this the holder of the great seal elected the returning Comthur, who in his turn elected a second, and these two a third; the three a fourth, and so on until the number of thirteen was reached. As soon as they were unanimous on the appointment of the returning Comthur, the entire Chapter was informed of his name. In all elections of the Grand Master, the Grand

Comthur had the first voice. The Master, the Grand Comthur, and the treasurer each had a key of the treasury.

The thirteen brothers consisted of one priest, eight knights, and four brothers; if possible each of the members should belong to a different district or province. On the thirteen knights being elected, they had to solemnly swear by the Gospel that their judgment should be influenced only by the merits of the candidate whom they proposed to elect as Grand Master. The returning Comthur had to count the votes, and the decision rested with the majority. After his election he was led to the altar, where the priests, who were summoned by the tolling of the bells, sang the "Te Deum." The new head of the Order then swore to observe all the rules of his office. He was then invested with the seal and ring of office, and was embraced by his brother knights. On the doors of the edifice being opened, his name was publicly announced. Curious as it may seem, there is no mention made in the documents of this period with reference to the forced resignation of a Grand Master.

The Landmaster of Prussia appears to have been elected by the Chapter of the knights, but his election required the sanction of his superior. The principal officers were the Marshal, director of hospitals, treasurer, and trapierer, whose duty it was to furnish the dress and arms of the members of the Order.

When the Grandmaster took up his residence in

Marienburg, the Deutschmaster represented him at the Reichstag in Germany.

Prussia had about eighteen Comthurs, each of whom was at the head of a cloister which contained twelve inmates, half of knights, and the remaining six, priests, who were the advisers of their chief. No office could be held for more than one year. At the end of this period the official had to place his resignation in the hands of his superior, who could reappoint him. The Comthur could invade the territory of the heathens whenever he thought fit, and grant privileges to the inhabitants of his district. Moreover, there were military establishments without a Comthur at their head. The Commandant of a burg was sometimes called the Haus Comthur. The title of Castellan was attached to the name of the commandant of the castle of Starkinberg, from which it may be inferred that that position was one of importance. The brothers in each of these establishments performed all kinds of domestic duties. They appear to have been divided into two classes: first, knights who performed military duties; secondly, those who had lately joined the Order. Each brother had two suits of underclothing, two pairs of trousers, a coat, waistcoat, cap, mantle, bed cover, and mattress. This outfit of a knight proves that originally the life of the brothers was far from being luxurious, but it will be seen in the course of the narrative, that through the indiscriminate admission of all classes into the Order, simplicity of

living gradually disappeared. The brothers had to submit to very strict discipline, and when in the field they could not unbridle nor feed their horses without special permission. A tent was allotted to every four brothers, and they were not allowed to put up at any place except at one of their own establishments. At early dawn the brothers had to perform their religious devotions, after which the standards were sprinkled with holy water, and they were then considered to be off duty. In conclusion, the government of Prussia by the knights might be regarded as a republic, presided over by the Grand Master, assisted by various officials forming a kind of privy council, to whom were referred all questions of great importance, such as declaration of war and the conclusion of peace.

As regards commercial treaties the knights, as soon as they obtained a firm footing in the country, allowed the chief towns to have the principal voice in arranging the terms, in consequence of which the latter gradually acquired such influence as to be able, eventually, to declare themselves independent of the Order.

A great part of the revenue of the knights was derived from kind. Every cultivated hide of land had to pay a bushel of corn and barley, and every plough was taxed at a bushel of wheat. A considerable income was also derived from the house-tax, which was six denars for every domicile. Further, all traders had to pay taxes for the right

of carrying on their calling, besides the tolls on bridges and ferries. During the subjugation of Prussia the revenue of the Order was comparatively small, and had mainly to depend on external assistance, but in course of time, owing to the extension of commerce, the knights were able to raise a considerable revenue, by which they gradually formed a reserve fund, available for political and military purposes, as also for bribing the officials of the Imperial and Papal Courts. As regards the coinage in use at this early period, it appears that various towns, such as Thorn, Culm, Elbing, and Prussian Holland, had the privilege of striking their own coins, the Order, however, generally appointing some responsible citizen in each town as their representative, to act as master of the Mint. The precise value of the coinage was laid down in the Culmische Handfeste, which at first was confined to Culm and Elbing, but gradually extended to the other important towns in the territory of the Order. The chief coin issued from the Mint of Culm was the Denar or Pfenning, of pure silver. It is difficult to ascertain the precise value of the coins in use at this period of the history of the Teutonic Knights. It appears that most of them were imaginary, that is, that a certain number of them were taken together and known by various names, such as the Mark, the Schilling (Solidus), Scot, and Vierding. A Mark is said to have consisted of 60 solidi, a Scot of 1½ solidi. A Vierding of 15 solidi

$= \frac{1}{4}$ mark. The value of these coins varied from time to time, for we find that subsequently a Mark was equivalent to 12 solidi and 180 pfennings. Again, a Schilling was equivalent to 3 denars. The coins nominally in use were Mark, Vierding, Schilling or Solidus, and Pfenning or Denar, the last only being an actual coin.

As the duties of the Landmaster required his presence in various parts of Prussia, he had no fixed residence, although in 1251 Elbing became the principal residence of the knights. It was the duty of the Landmaster to exercise constant supervision over the different establishments of the Order, being generally accompanied by some counsellors. His real authority was very limited, for nothing could be done except in unison with the chief officials.

The next in rank to the Landmaster of Prussia was the Marshal, who likewise had no official residence. In the early history of the knights, we find that, besides his military duties, he generally held the post of Comthur of Königsberg or Brandenburg. The Marshal directed all the operations of the army, and generally drew up the plan of any new campaign, and further regularly inspected the horses, arms, and accoutrements of the vassals and retainers of the Order. When the Landmaster accompanied the army, the Marshal acted as chief of the staff, and the former was commander-in-chief.

From the plans of the great battles fought by the knights we may infer that their Marshals must have

been men of great military talents and fully equal to other European generals of their day.

The civil administration of the different districts was committed to an official styled the Vogt, who, like the Marshal and Landmaster, had no permanent residence, and was under the authority of the latter.

Towards the year 1280 the knights were engaged in a fresh struggle. They had by this time made themselves masters of a great part of Prussia, and had gained a firm footing in the country. Having conquered in turn the Sudauer, Nadrauer, and Schalauer, they now resolved to extend their territory at the expense of the Lithuanians, who had repeatedly assisted the Prussians in their attempts to shake off the yoke of the Order.

In a previous chapter we have seen that the Grand Duke Mindowe embraced Christianity and became the ally of the knights, but that his successor, Mestwin, reversed his father's policy, and remained until his death their most implacable enemy, ever and anon assisting the natives to rise in revolt.

Mestwin's successor, Wolstinik, would no doubt have taken an active part in the Prussian insurrections had he not been engaged in a war with the Russians. On his resigning the throne and retiring into a cloister in favour of his brother-in-law, Schwarno, son of King Daniel of Halitsch, the latter not only gave his active support to the Prussians, but also invaded Culm and the adjoining

provinces, from which he returned carrying with him an immense amount of property.

His successor, Troides, made a foray into Livonia in the year 1272. Conrad von Thierberg the elder, foreseeing the coming storm, erected a strong burg, which he called "Neuhaus," on the peninsula of the Curische Haff, for the purpose of arresting the progress of the Lithuanians, and the Archbishop of Riga despatched a deputation to the Grand Duke, entreating him to be baptized and become an ally of the Order. This the Lithuanian prince declined, declaring that the condition of the people of Semgallia had so disgusted him that he had no wish to embrace Christianity.

In 1280, at his instigation, the celebrated Nameise, a leader of the people of Samland, made a foray into Prussia, doubtless with the intention of fomenting another rebellion. Fortunately for the knights, Troides became entangled in a war with the Russians, and during the campaign was murdered by his brother Dowmont, who succeeded him; but Troides's son avenged his father's death and dethroned the usurper. This prince appears to have entertained feelings of friendship towards the knights, for he himself took no part in the inroads which the different petty chieftains were, now, constantly making into Prussia.

Lithuania formed in itself a natural defence. It contained impenetrable fastnesses, large masses of marshy ground, and many parts were perfectly

barren and unfit for the habitation of man. Besides which, the country bordering on Prussia was covered with dense forests, and the natives by hewing down the trees rendered them almost impassable.

During the summer the rivers generally overflowed their banks. Besides this, it was the custom of the Lithuanians, on the approach of the enemy, to destroy everything they could not carry off with them; so that an invading army had not only to make a road by which to advance, but also to carry with it a sufficient amount of provisions for the campaign, which could only be undertaken during the time the rivers and lakes were frozen over, as it was impossible to carry sufficient material to construct boats. Some time previous to the campaign, the Marshal had already despatched numerous spies into the country to obtain a thorough description of the difficulties which they would have to encounter and overcome in their attempt to subjugate it.

In the interior the Lithuanians had large herds of cattle and horses. They required little or no comforts, as we understand them, and no luxuries. The villages were generally at a great distance from each other. Agriculture, poor as it was, was generally carried on by the captives. Their other means of subsistence were fishing and the chase; added to which was the plunder of their opponents. As their country was surrounded and intersected by rivers, they were very skilful boatmen, and, by means of small coracles made of skins,

they could always advance into and retire from the enemies' territory with rapidity and safety.

In order to make the war popular among the Crusaders, who were often attracted by mercenary motives, most absurd stories were circulated with reference to the fabulous amount of booty which the Lithuanians had collected. These accounts naturally enabled the priests not only to excite the avidity of their hearers, but to enlist their sympathy by the heartrending description they gave of the condition of the Christian captives, and the misery which the Lithuanians had inflicted by their marauding parties. The Lithuanians on their part were determined on a fierce and bloody resistance. Such was the condition of affairs when Burchard von Schwenden became Grand Master, in 1283.

The commencement of the campaign was as follows:— Some Lithuanian noblemen, who had taken part in the murder of the Grand Duke Troides, found a refuge in the knights' territory, where they were baptized. They proffered their services to the Marshal to conduct him and his army to the vicinity of the celebrated island of the Romowe—the retreat of the High Priest—at the junction of the rivers Dobese and Naweze. The Marshal accepted their guidance, and marched with them towards the place, which was protected by the important fortress Bisten. Prior to laying siege to this, Conrad von Thierberg despatched his light troops to plunder the surrounding districts, and

prevent the garrison from receiving assistance, for information had been received that small bodies of Lithuanians were advancing to the relief of the fort.

The defenders of Bisten fought valiantly, and it was not without heavy loss that the Marshal was able to capture the fort, which was burnt, and its occupants either killed or carried away as captives. After the fall of Bisten the foraging parties effected their junction with Von Thierberg, bringing with them a large amount of booty. As the thaw had set in, the Marshal determined to retrace his steps, but in crossing the Memel the ice gave way, and the greater portion of his army was drowned. It is not stated whether the Landmaster attempted to destroy the Romowe, but if he did, it is highly probable that the break-up of the ice prevented him from carrying out his intention.

In the following year the Burg Garthe, now called Grodno, was taken by storm and the territory laid waste by 1,800 men. The castle was burnt to the ground and part of the garrison taken prisoners, the remainder being massacred. It is stated that the leader of the Sudauer held one of the principal commands in the army of the knights, and greatly contributed to their success.

During this time the Lithuanians had not remained inactive, having invaded Poland. In their army were two Prussian chiefs, Numo and Deroko, who, with their followers, had taken a prominent

part in the revolution in Prussia, and had sought refuge in Lithuania. Having heard of the success of the arms of the Order, they came to obtain pardon for themselves and their fellow countrymen by offering their services to the knights. Their request was granted, it would seem, on condition of their turning their arms against the Lithuanians. This act of treachery was perpetrated as the Lithuanian army was returning from Poland loaded with booty, which the two Prussians and their followers carried off with them, after they had treacherously fallen upon and massacred their protectors. The Order allowed them to resettle in Pogesania, and gave them back their wives and children.

In 1284 the internal strength of the Order was greatly increased by the accession to its ranks of the canons of Culm. The forts of Lötzen on the lake Lewentin, and Strasburg on the banks of the Drewenz, were also erected in the year 1285.

The Lithuanians, being now engaged in hostilities with the Russians, the Landmaster was enabled to direct his attention to the improvement of the country, and in a very short time the condition of the peasant class, particularly of Prussians, was greatly ameliorated; and through the concessions granted by Duke Wladislaus of Lanziz, the traders of Culm and Thorn were able to carry on a very successful commerce with Russia. Mestwin also did his utmost to develope a trade between his

territory and that of the knights, as he was anxious to further the prosperity of the country by increasing the commerce.

We now return to the state of affairs in Livonia or Liefland, which was at this time under the control of William von Schauerburg. It would appear that one of the knights had in some way or other so insulted the chief of the people of Semgallia, that they unanimously renounced their allegiance to the Order. Their example was followed by the Samogitians, and, with the assistance of the Lithuanians, they occasioned great loss of property by constant inroads into Livonia. To put an end to this state of affairs, the Landmaster invaded Semgallia in 1284, and advanced as far as a spot called Holy Hill. Here he erected a stronghold to protect those of the Semgallians who still remained faithful to the Order. Scarcely had the Landmaster returned to Liefland, when the Lithuanians and Samogitians advanced on Riga, plundering and destroying the crops and homesteads of the inhabitants as they proceeded.

In 1287 they were joined by a large body of Semgallians. Emboldened by their success, they appeared before the walls of Riga, in which the Grand Master was at the time holding a Grand Chapter of the Order. Reinforced by the Danish settlers, and a number of the retainers of the Bishop of Riga, the Landmaster left the town at the head of 500 picked men to oppose the enemy. The

latter thereupon began to retreat, and after a forced march of three days the Landmaster came up with the body of the Lithuanians and their allies, amounting to 1,400. The attack was immediately commenced, but some of the infantry of the Order took to flight, and were followed by their comrades. The knights fought with their usual courage, but they were unable to retrieve their fortunes. Thirty-three perished on the field of battle, sixteen were taken prisoners, and either tortured or burnt to death. The Landmaster, who had headed the charge with the cry of "Ich bringe die Semgallen in noth, oder wir bleiben alle todt," was himself slain.

The Grand Master, Burchard von Schwenden, on being acquainted with this misfortune, ordered the military convents of Suabia and Franconia to furnish him with a sufficient number of picked knights and retainers to avenge this humiliation. Early in the year 1288 he arrived in Prussia, with a goodly number of knights and retainers. In a general council which was held, it was determined that, in order to give a fuller scope to the military talents of Conrad von Thierberg, he should occupy only the position of Marshal, and that the present Marshal, Helwig von Goldbach, should be made Comthur of Christburg. Meinhard von Querfurth was to succeed Von Thierberg in the office of Landmaster, and the Knight Conrad von Herzogenstein was appointed Landmaster of Liefland, for which

post he immediately started, accompanied by forty veteran knights.

It was now decided that the line of the Memel should be strengthened by several forts, in order to prevent the passage of the river by the Lithuanians. The Grand Master appears to have made several other changes in the high official posts, and also to have introduced several reforms. After a careful inspection of all the strongholds of the knights, he returned to Germany.

The Landmaster now undertook the gigantic task of damming the banks of the Vistula and Nogat, and bringing the entire tract of marshy ground into cultivation. The Lithuanians and Samogitians, on their part, having become acquainted with the intended invasion of their country, began collecting all their available forces. The Landmaster, in order to protect the frontier, advanced towards it and erected a burg, which was first called Landshut, but afterwards Ragnit, the command of the garrison being given to Berthold Brühaven. To the west of this, and on the banks of the river, the Landmaster built another fort, which was first called the Schalauerburg, but was afterwards known by the name of Tilsit. These outposts, it was believed, would not only protect the frontier, but the navigation likewise of the Memel, which was constantly being harassed by the turbulent allies of the Lithuanians. Unfortunately, however, for the Order, the plan of frontier-defence designed by

the Grand Master was obliged to be deferred on account of the insubordinate conduct of the Prussians.

Taking umbrage at the manner in which the war was carried on, they had in fact formed a conspiracy for the purpose of raising a Lithuanian prince to the throne of their country. Their chief grievance was that, residing in the open country and cultivating the ground, they were the first to suffer from a Lithuanian invasion, whilst the colonists dwelt in towns and villages protected by forts. They considered, in consequence, that they would be better off in having a complete change of masters.

The Barter, who had been allowed to return to their native country, appear to have been the principal conspirators. It was arranged that the insurrection should at first break out amongst a large number of labourers, who were engaged in building the castle of Ragnit. The knights, however, having been informed of the plan, collected a considerable force, with which they fell upon the Prussians and put down the rising with frightful severity.

In the autumn of 1289, 8,000 Lithuanian cavalry, under the Grand Duke Witen, made an inroad into Prussia; but the inhabitants of the open country, having obtained information of their intention, were able to carry off most of their property into the castles and towns. The Landmaster, having collected a sufficient number of troops, followed up the Lithu-

anians, who, as usual, were conveying away as much booty as they could carry. He overtook them during the passage of a river, recaptured all the plunder, and killed nearly all the cavalry, their prince, Witen, escaping with great difficulty. In Liefland the arms of the knights were also crowned with success, as the new Landmaster caused several burgs of the Semgallians to be destroyed, and those who had not sought refuge in Lithuania tendered their submission to the knights.

The two Landmasters now determined to subjugate Samogitia, then ruled over by a warlike prince named Butegeyde, the incorporation of which would bring about the formation of an undivided Prussian state. The proposal was submitted to the Pope; and in 1289 the Grand Master obtained from his Holiness full consent to the scheme for the absorption of Samogitia.

The winter of 1289 was spent in making preparations for the campaign. Considerable delay was occasioned by the resignation of the Landmaster in Liefland; but, to counteract this, Meinhard entered the territory of the Lithuanians in the month of April, at the head of 500 horse and 2,000 foot, with which he laid siege to the important burg Kalayne, on the Memel. During the time the infantry laid siege to the castle, the cavalry were employed in reconnoitring and plundering the surrounding country. The garrison, which consisted of only 120 men, was commanded by one of

the most celebrated Lithuanian warriors, named Surmine. So stubborn was their resistance that, although reduced to twelve men, they still held out, when, to their astonishment, they beheld early in the morning their opponents' cavalry rushing in wild disorder into the camp of the infantry, causing a general panic amongst the besiegers. In a very short time the knights were hurrying to their boats. At first it was thought that it was a *ruse de guerre;* but at last, becoming emboldened, they ventured forth, and found nothing but a large quantity of arms. It appears that the cavalry having encamped for the night, the sentinels fell asleep, and at dawn were awakened by a noise in the vicinity, which they believed to be the advancing army of the enemy. A panic ensued, and they fled into the camp of the infantry, which brought about a general rout. The Lithuanian captain, on finding that his foes had disappeared, left the stronghold, and celebrated the victory with great rejoicings.

As soon as Meinhard reached his own territory, he ordered the Comthur of Ragnit, with twenty-five other knights, to proceed along the frontier of Lithuania, to ascertain if the enemy were collecting a force for the passage of the Memel.

Surmine, who had returned to his castle, resolved to effect the capture of the Comthur and his comrades on their return from the reconnoitering expedition, and hit upon the following cunning

stratagem: A young and determined Lithuanian, named Nodam, celebrated for his strength and feminine appearance, who was well acquainted with the Polish dialect, assumed the garb of a woman, and, as the boat of the Comthur was passing, rushed to the banks of the river, imploring them to take him off, pretending that he was a Polish woman escaped from her Lithuanian captors. The Comthur, not suspecting any treachery, approached the banks, when Nodam, instead of getting into the boat, seized the cable, and pulled it on to the sand, his companions, who lay concealed in a neighbouring thicket, rushing out and slaughtering the knights. Nodam and his comrades, being reinforced by the garrison of Qukaim, now advanced before the walls of Ragnit; but here one of their soothsayers declared they would be unsuccessful if they remained. They accordingly retreated, but being overtaken by a patrolling party under Liebenzell, they were nearly all put to the sword.

While these events were taking place, the knights were successful in another quarter. Jeisbute, a Lithuanian who was in the pay of the Order, had informed the Landmaster that he was about to undertake a foray into Poland with 500 picked men, hoping to return with a large amount of property and many prisoners, and appointing a place where the knights could conceal themselves to surprise him and his followers. The Landmaster

accordingly despatched Heinrich Zuckschwert, Governor of Natangen, to the woods between the rivers Lyck and Narew.

The Lithuanians, in accordance with their custom, consulted the augurs as to the best route by which to return to their country. The soothsayers strictly enjoined them not to pass the vicinity where the knights were concealed; but their leader had such control over his followers, that he induced them to retire by the route he treacherously desired. The unfortunate Lithuanians on being attacked, believing it was the punishment for their open defiance of the injunctions of their seers, made little or no resistance. Many are said to have hung themselves on the branches of trees; others died of hunger, and the rest were killed by the knights. This intelligence reached the Landmaster at the same time as that of the success of Liebenzell; and as the messengers were retiring from his apartment, a third one appeared, bringing the news of the death of the Lithuanian Prince Witen.

In Liefland the new Landmaster, Halt von Hohenbach, had attempted, during the summer, to raise a sufficient force to carry on a campaign against the Lithuanians; but he was not successful, the only person who appeared ready to assist in this project being the Archbishop of Riga. The bishops and the vassals of the Order declined to advance beyond the river Duna into the country. But the Landmaster informed Meinhard that, if he

would send him reinforcements, he was ready to commence the campaign, although he himself could muster only 1,800 men. The Landmaster of Prussia, before giving a decisive answer, sent a fresh plan of the campaign to the Grand Master, and this postponed offensive operations on a large scale until the winter of 1291. Nevertheless, in February of this year, the Comthur of Königsberg, Berthold Brühaven, made a foray into Lithuania, where he stormed Kalayne, but did not succeed in preventing the enemy from erecting another stronghold. He then advanced against another castle, named Mederable, which he stormed and burnt to the ground, afterwards desolating the surrounding country. The Comthur of Balga, Zuckschwert, appears also to have been very successful in burning and destroying the property of the Lithuanians.

In 1289 the Emperor Rudolf, who had great confidence in the experience and judgment of the Grand Master, despatched him to Rome for the purpose of arranging his coronation with Innocent XIV., and also to inform him of his intended triumphal procession to Rome in the ensuing summer. The Pope doing all he possibly could to postpone the object of the Grand Master's mission, the latter was compelled to remain at Rome longer than he intended, but he properly employed his time in obtaining for the Order the assistance of the Holy See in their disputes with the bishops, and in the projected Lithuanian campaign.

The Pope was at this time endeavouring to regain the ground lost by the Christians in the East. After the retreat of the Mongols the celebrated Sultan Kalevun Malec el Mansur determined to subjugate Syria, and, through the jealousies which existed in the Christian camp, was able to capture the castle of Marcab, as well as Laodicea and Tripolis; so that the knights had now only Tyre and Acre in their possession.

A general crusade was now preached all over Europe. Considerable reinforcements were sent to the East, the principal being one of 4,000 men, which embarked at Venice, accompanied by the Grand Master and forty of his most experienced officers. His chief object was to bring about a feeling of harmony and common action with the three Orders, but he appears to have met with such opposition on the part of the knights at Acre, that his plans were completely baffled; upon which he summoned a Grand Chapter of the knights, and, to the astonishment of all, resigned his post. He then entered the Order of St. John, producing in justification of this extraordinary proceeding the approval of the Pope, from whom it is presumed that he had received secret instructions to bring about the union of the three Orders.

The Grand Master did not long survive his resignation and admission into the Order of St. John, for he died a few months after at Acre, and was buried at Rhodes.

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1290—1310.

Election of Conrad von Feuchtwangen as Grand Master (1290) and Siege of Acre—Death of the Emperor Rudolf—Condition of Pomerania, Poland, and Lithuania—Invasion of Poland—Inroads into Lithuania by the Knights—Destruction of Wisna—Visit of Feuchtwangen to Prussia — Death of the Grand Master (1296) — Gottfried von Hohenlohe elected Grand Master—Capture of Riga—Helwig von Goldbach becomes Landmaster—Hohenlohe visits Prussia—Invasion of Lithuania—Purchase of Michelau (1306)—Acquisition of Land in Pomerania—Affairs in Pomerania—Capture of Dirschau—Siege of Swetz—Death of Hohenlohe (1309).

On the resignation of Burchard von Schwenden, a Grand Chapter was held at Acre, under the presidency of the Grand Comthur of the East, where Conrad von Feuchtwangen, who had accompanied the late Grand Master, and who had for some years occupied the post of Deutschmaster, was unanimously elected to the headship of the Order. There are some doubts, however, as to the legality of his election, on account of the absence of the other Landmasters.

At the period of which we are speaking, Acre was the scene of deeds of the greatest depravity and lawlessness. The town was crowded with

soldiers and fugitives of every nationality, who occupied different quarters, which they formed into entrenched camps. The following graphic account is given by the Abbé Vertot of the condition of Acre at this period:—"The jealousy between so many different nations, and the private interests of their chiefs, rendered them suspected and odious to one another; and instead of joining together for the common good, if one nation proposed an opinion, it was enough to make another reject it. They often came to blows, fighting it out with one another; and this miserable city contained its worst enemies within its own walls. Murders, assassinations, and poisonings passed unpunished; the criminals found always a sure asylum in the other quarters of the city, where they had not committed their villanies. The corruption of manners was almost general in all conditions, not excepting even those whose profession obliged them to strict continency. They gloried in vice, disguising it under the name of human frailty, and there wanted not men imprudent enough publicly to avow that abominable sin which gives horror to nature; so that of all the people, whether Christians or Mahometans, that dwelt in Palestine, the inhabitants of St. Jean d'Acre passed for the most profligate."

It was in vain the King of Cyprus and the King of Jerusalem attempted to introduce something like order and discipline among the German, English, French, and other Crusaders. This motley assem-

blage of would-be supporters of the Cross directed their attention to plundering not only each other, but also the districts around. They actually attacked a Turkish caravan on its way to Acre, and killed the escort of merchants. They also pillaged the open towns occupied by Saracens; upon which the Sultan demanded the surrender of the ring-leaders. The Grand Master, together with the chief men in Acre, supported the demands of the Sultan in a great Council, but were violently opposed by the Papal Legate, who threatened to excommunicate any one who attempted to deliver up the offenders. It now became evident that the Saracens, as soon as they had collected a sufficient number of troops, would besiege Acre. The occupation of this town by the Christians was of the greatest importance to the Order, who regarded it as their capital. Moreover, it was generally the residence of the Grand Master and his chief officers of state.

The Pope, on hearing of the critical condition of Acre, ordered a fresh crusade to be preached, and called upon all the military convents of the three Orders to at once despatch all their available force to the East, for the defence of the sorely besieged city. Of these the Teutonic Order sent the largest contingent. On the news of the approach of the enemy, nearly all those who had taken refuge in Acre, with the exception of the knights and the troops under the command of the King of

Cyprus, left the town, and sailed away for Cyprus, Greece, and Italy. The forces which the three Orders had at their command, numbering about 12,000 men, together with the inhabitants, were quite sufficient to defend the place; but, unfortunately, the greatest disunion prevailed amongst them. The Sultan, having collected a large army, commenced his march towards Acre, but was poisoned on the road by the lieutenant-general of his army, who hoped to succeed him. The draught, however, which he had administered to his master did not produce immediate death, and the Sultan was able to call his guards to arrest the traitor. Before he expired, he entreated his son Calil not to bury his body until Acre was captured. Calil, who was then proclaimed Sultan, with the title of Mebec Serat, advanced without delay against the stronghold of the Christians, at the head of 160,000 infantry and 60,000 cavalry.

On the appearance of this immense army before the walls, on the 5th of April, the different Orders selected a generalissimo in the person of Peter de Beaujeu, Grand Master of the Templars, who was considered the most experienced captain of his time. At first the Sultan, being aware of the divisions in the Christian camp, offered a large sum to the Grand Master for the betrayal of the town into his hands. This offer was treated with disdain, and as long as Beaujeu's orders were obeyed, a vigorous resistance kept the besiegers in check; but dissensions again

sprang up, and the fate of the town was only a question of time.

It is stated that the Countess of Blois, who was in the suite of the King of Jerusalem, rendered herself remarkable, not only by endeavours to maintain union between the different parties, but by her being constantly seen amongst the Crusaders in their sallies against the Turks. The obstinate resistance which the Sultan at first encountered led him to offer to raise the siege, on condition of receiving a Venetian denarius as ransom for each inhabitant of the city. This proposal being indignantly declined, the siege was renewed with redoubled fury, and the Sultan, utterly regardless of the immense loss of life, hurled on in succession large bodies of assailants, who, supported by his war machines, eventually effected several breaches in the walls. This, coupled with the fall of several towers, especially that called the "Cursed Tower"—the key of the fortress—which had been undermined by the Sultan's engineers, enabled the Saracens to storm the town. During the night which preceded the capture of the town, the King of Cyprus requested permission to withdraw his troops for a short time, under the plea of extreme fatigue, promising that they should be at their posts on the ensuing day; instead of which he and his force, together with the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and a large number of men and women, made their way to the port, and embarked for

Cyprus. The three Orders now alone remained to defend the city, and they withdrew to their stronghold. In resisting the attack of the enemy the Grand Master of the Templars fell mortally wounded. The three military establishments were now simultaneously stormed by the Turks. It was at this moment that the knights of the German Order called upon the Grand Master to lead them forth to face their death where, a hundred years before, the Order had been inaugurated. The Grand Master declined to do so, with these remarkable words:—"I never will allow it; such an act would be at variance with the rules of the Order, and as long as a knight can live with honour, he is bound to do so; but I give you my solemn promise that I will assist you in avenging this defeat by leading you against the heathen Prussians."

The Sultan, becoming enraged at the desperate resistance offered by the knights, ordered the town to be set on fire at four different points. During the conflagration, the remnants of the three Orders cut their way through their opponents and reached their ships in the harbour. As many as 60,000 Christians are stated to have either perished or become captives during this terrible siege.

The survivors sailed to Cyprus, where the King of Jerusalem had taken refuge. The King offered to bestow on the three Orders a considerable portion of his territory, in consideration of their defending him from the attacks of the Turks. The

Templars and the Knights of St. John accepted this offer, but Conrad von Feuchtwangen declined it, and proceeded with his companions to Venice.

It is related that a body of 300 Templars, finding it impossible to reach the ships, took refuge in one of the fortified towers of the town, in which were a considerable number of women and children. Here they defended themselves for several hours, but, the Saracens having completely undermined the walls, they capitulated on condition of being allowed a free passage with the women to Cyprus. This the enemy agreed to, but the moment they entered the fort they began to violate the women, on which the knights drew their swords and repulsed them with slaughter, re-shut the doors, and continued the fight. On a sudden the groundwork of the tower gave way, and the knights and women were buried in the ruins. It is also related that the nuns of the convents, in order to disgust the Saracens by their personal appearance, and thereby escape dishonour, mutilated themselves in a frightful manner; cutting off their noses and ears, making incisions in their faces, and besmearing their bodies with blood. So horrified were the infidels by the spectacle, that they massacred them all without mercy.

As the position of Venice was highly advantageous both in a geographical and military point of view, being at this period the chief centre of communication between the east and the west, the Grand Master now made it his capital; for

here he could organize fresh expeditions for the recovery of the lost territory in the East and be in direct communication with the Emperor and the Pope, whose assistance was always necessary for the subjugation of Prussia.

Edward I. of England now offering to lead a fresh crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land, the Pope did his utmost to induce other princes to follow the King of England's example. The misfortunes which the Templars and the Knights of St. John had experienced appear to have at last brought about a reconciliation, which gave every sign that the Pope's long-cherished object of an amalgamation of these two Orders would be accomplished. As the Grand Master feared that, if he did not in person take part in the ensuing expedition, arranged to be carried out in 1293, the claims of his Order to the conquered territory would in all probability be lost sight of, he assisted the Pope in organizing the crusade. Unfortunately, Nicholas IV. died suddenly. His successor, Celestin V., took little or no interest in the new crusade, and thus it was that the connexion of the German Order with the East was now severed for ever, while Hermann von Salza's great idea of making Prussia the permanent residence of the Teutonic Order became a reality, for from henceforth we find the knights engaged solely in subjugating that country. In fact, it would seem that the obligation to proceed to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem was

now done away with, and that in its place it was necessary for him to have journeyed to certain chapels attached to the burgs, with a garden and a tomb to represent the Holy Sepulchre.

The death of Pope Nicholas was a great loss to the knights, for he had during the last years of his Pontificate been a most steadfast friend to them. His demise was followed by that of another great patron of the Order, the Emperor Rudolf, who died in the spring of 1292. The election of a successor placed the Order in some embarrassment as to which candidate for the imperial diadem they should support; but ultimately the Archbishop of Mayence, who possessed great influence, induced the Grand Master to give his support to Count Adolphus of Nassau, who was elected in May, 1292. In return for this support the Order received a fresh guarantee of all their rights, privileges, and their domains were placed under the special protection of the Emperor.

The misrule of Adolphus soon brought discredit on the knights, who were regarded by the German princes as his secret agents, ready in case of emergency to give him armed assistance. This naturally induced many to oppose the project of assisting the knights in subjugating Lithuania, as they believed that by so doing they would indirectly increase the power of the Emperor, and, furthermore, the fact must not be lost sight of, that the Teutonic Order at this time possessed domains and establishments in every part of the

German Empire, and their opponents openly accused them of being constantly in direct communication with Adolphus, and of acquainting him with their plans and policy. Thus it may be perceived that the knights could not count on any great help from Germany, and that by taking up such a decided attitude the Grand Master had created a feeling of disunion amongst the knights, many of whom, particularly the half-brothers, had greatly to fear for the safety of their property, should the Emperor be dethroned.

The Grand Master, fearing that inactivity would increase discontentment, determined to direct the attention of the Order from German affairs, by commencing a campaign on a large scale against the Samogitians and Lithuanians. It is, however, necessary to understand the relations which existed between the knights in Prussia and their immediate neighbours. In Pomerania, Mestwin still remained the old friend of the Order; but as he had no children, and there was little prospect of a successor, according to former arrangements, entered into in 1269 and 1273, between Mestwin and the Margrave of Brandenburg, his duchy at his demise became the hereditary fief of the House of Brandenburg. Notwithstanding this agreement, Mestwin had appointed his cousin, Duke Przemislaus of Poland, his successor, in the year 1284; but afterwards he appears to have changed his mind, in consequence, probably, of impecuniosity, and at

a Landtag, in 1287, attempted to induce his nobles to acknowledge Dukes Boguslaus and Otho. The Landtag, however, which had been gained over by Przemislaus, declared that as these two dukes had rendered themselves hostile to Pomerania by their German proclivities, they would not acknowledge any other successor than the Duke of Poland, who was conversant with their language and manners, and who was also ready to guarantee to them all their rights and privileges. Mestwin acquiesced; and, in the year 1290, the Landtag solemnly acknowledged Przemislaus as their future sovereign.

The Margrave of Brandenburg, on the other hand, about the year 1289, had concluded a treaty with the Prince Witzlaus of Rugen, by which it was arranged that, on the death of Mestwin, his duchy should be divided between them; with the understanding that should this plan be opposed, they would at once invade Pomerania with all their available forces, and carry out the terms of the treaty by force of arms. A glance at the map will show how disadvantageous it would be to Prussia should Przemislaus occupy the duchy of Mestwin; for, in case of a war with Poland, it could be attacked on the west by the Polish duke. It would also be inconvenient should the two provinces of Pomerania become united under one ruler. The claim of Brandenburg was therefore supported, as the knights hoped by playing off one competitor against another to secure Pomerania for themselves.

Meanwhile in Poland a terrible struggle was raging. Lesko the Black had escaped to Hungary on the approach of the Tartars, and did not return to his dominions until they had withdrawn from the country. This act made him so unpopular amongst his subjects on account of his cowardice, that it is said he died broken-hearted, leaving Cracow and Sandomir to his widow Griphina by will. Immediately after his death, however, each of the Polish dukes attempted to obtain possession of the crown. The country people of the above two provinces rose against the Queen, and proclaimed Duke Boleslaus of Masovia, whilst the citizens of Cracow elected Henry, Duke of Breslau. These provinces were then seized by the Dukes Wladislaus and Przemislaus; and, to add to the complication, the Queen made over her rights to her nephew, Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, who invaded Cujavia, expelled Wladislaus, captured Cracow, and proclaimed himself King of Poland in 1291. Finding it impossible, however, to hold his ground, he returned to Bohemia, leaving a considerable force under his stadtholder to continue the struggle.

During these events the Lithuañians, at the instigation of some of the competitors for the throne, successfully invaded Poland, and returned with an immense amount of property; but their own country was now the scene of constant inroads from the Order, who during the entire year 1291 gave them no respite. Still, the indomitable courage of the Lithuanians

and Samogitians rendered it impossible for the knights to maintain themselves in the country, except in the castles which they erected, and these were constantly being captured or destroyed. As a defence against a Lithuanian invasion, the Landmaster had organized a regular frontier force, in connexion with their military cordon.

On the accession of Putuwere, the successor of Witen, the Lithuanians invaded Poland, and advanced as far as Brzesc. The Dukes Wladislaus and Casimir, finding themselves utterly unable to cope with the invaders, called to their assistance the Landmaster of Prussia, who joined them with sixty knights and a thousand picked men. In a battle which took place the Poles shamefully deserted their allies, and the Landmaster was obliged to fight his way back to Prussia with heavy loss.

In the year 1292 the Landmaster advanced to the frontiers of Lithuania to avenge this defeat; but during the time he was encamped, prior to crossing the frontier, a Prussian secretly informed the Comthur of Balga, Henry Zuckschwert, that a conspiracy existed amongst the natives in the knights' army, and that they had informed the Lithuanian prince of the route which the Landmaster intended to take on the ensuing day. He stated likewise that Putuwere's entire army lay in ambush in a neighbouring forest, and that it had been arranged, should the knights take another route, that the conspirators

were to fall upon them during the night; also that the Lithuanians would follow close to the army in support. The Master, upon this information, at once commenced a retreat, but, before doing so, placed all the Prussian officers under surveillance; and the mutineers in consequence, being now without leaders, remained inactive.

About Whitsuntide of 1292 the news reached Prussia that a large army of Lithuanians were advancing on Culm, and that a portion of the advanced guard had already crossed the frontier; but the Landmaster by forced marches was able to concentrate a sufficient number of troops on the threatened points to deter the enemy from carrying out their plans. They now turned their steps into Poland, where they met with no resistance. After having collected all the plunder they could possibly carry with them, together with numbers of captives—each Lithuanian, we are told, having as many as twenty Poles allotted to him—they were about to take their departure. Duke Casimir, however, at last induced a considerable number of his countrymen to rally round him. With these he took up an advantageous position for intercepting the invaders; but in the midst of his arrangements to carry out his plans, Duke Boleslaus came forward as mediator, and effected a truce between the belligerents. The treacherous Lithuanians, however, as soon as they perceived that the unsuspecting Poles had laid aside their arms and

were busy in collecting provisions, suddenly fell upon them and massacred both Casimir and all his men.

In 1293 the Comthur of Ragnit advanced as far as the important town of Junigedä, the suburbs of which he burnt, but had to rapidly retreat on account of an attempt on the part of the Prussians to betray Tilsit to the Lithuanians. In the following year the Landmaster also destroyed part of the town of Junigedä and devastated the surrounding districts.

In 1294 the Landmaster advanced into Lithuania at the head of two forces to lay waste and plunder the country. Being forced to retreat he was nearly cut off by a sudden thaw of ice on the Memel. On arriving at the banks, perceiving that the ice was about to break up, he crossed the river at different points in the night, and scarcely had the army reached the opposite bank when the ice actually broke up.

The Comthur of Ragnit, Ludwig von Liebenzell, appears to have been the first leader who obtained a satisfactory success in Lithuania. Having embarked a considerable number of troops, he advanced up the Memel and destroyed the Romowe, the holy grove of Lithuania; and so great was the destruction of life and property in the province of Samogitia that the inhabitants were glad to submit unconditionally to their conquerors.

The Landmaster now led his forces against the stronghold of Wisna, one of the most important fortresses in Lithuania, which he captured and de-

stroyed, for the knights had learned that Duke Boleslaus had concluded a treaty with the Lithuanians, and delivered into their hands the above-named stronghold, thus giving them an easy access to Prussia and a secure retreat with their booty. On the other hand, the Lithuanians, profiting by the absence of the Landmaster, destroyed the suburbs of Ragnit and Tilsit.

In 1295 Duke Boleslaus having rebuilt Wisna, the Landmaster again advanced towards it, but on his march he heard of a rising in Prussia, which compelled him to return. The insurgents succeeded in capturing the town of Bartenstein, but the rapidity with which the Comthur of Königsberg advanced into Natangen brought about the submission of the rebels; and, as usual, the knights exacted a fearful retaliation from their opponents.

It was about this period that the celebrated guerrilla chiefs, Dyvel, Stobemehl, Kudare, and Nakaim, who had distinguished themselves by their exploits and prodigies of valour, as allies of the knights, on returning from one of their marauding expeditions, having stopped at the stronghold of Colin, near Conowedit, were suddenly surprised and massacred by the Lithuanians, who had stealthily followed them. Thus ended ignominiously the career of some of the most valiant and trusty followers of the Order. Colin himself died shortly after from grief at the death of his brave comrades. Before this event he had erected a tomb, on which was a large black cross,

to the memory of the heroes. The Order had previously knighted him for his services, and given him a considerable fief, and Meinhard, the Landmaster, erected a monument to his memory.

But now the constant war between the knights and the Lithuanians had introduced a laxity of discipline and a general demoralization in the Order. This, as well as the death of Duke Mestwin, and the dispute with the Archbishop of Riga, induced the Grand Master to visit Prussia.

His first business was to pacify the Samlanders, who, as we have before seen, had been excited to revolt by the malcontents in Natangen. The leader of the discontented party was a young man, named Naudiate, son of the Withing Jodute, but who, however, having lost confidence in his undertaking, from the want of sympathy displayed by the hereditary nobles of the country, proceeded to Königsberg, and there disclosed to the Comthur the plan of a general rising, which had for its object the sudden massacre of all the knights, and of those Samlanders who were faithful to them. The Comthur upon this had all the chief movers in the plot arrested and brought to trial, when they were condemned and put to death.

In April, 1296, a Grand Chapter was held at Elbing, in which the affairs of Samland were discussed. It would seem that the discontent which existed in that province arose from the unjustifiable way in which the jurisdiction of the bishop had

been carried on during the absence of the Bishops Henry and Christian. The new prelate of Samland, Siegfried von Regenstein, was solemnly invested with the see at this Chapter, and a proclamation was issued to the people of Samland, in which the exact nature of the jurisdiction of the bishop was defined. It was also enacted that those Withings who had assisted the Order in the revolt should receive a certain concession. This was that, in case of their dying without direct heirs, their entire property should devolve on the next male kin, instead of, as formerly, on the bishop or the Order. The Grand Master also ordered that the names of all the Withings should be registered in a public document, to be kept as a proof of their noble birth and fidelity to the Teutonic Order. It was also enacted that should any person kill or wound a Withing maliciously, he was liable to a fine of sixty marks-silver. In those days the death of a Prussian was punishable by a fine of fifteen to thirty marks.

Another subject which required the attention of the Order was that of the constant disputes which were then going on between the Archbishop of Riga and the knights of Liefland. Already in the year 1289 the vassals of the archbishop, excited by his oppressive acts, made him prisoner, and detained him in confinement until he had redressed their wrongs. As it was highly probable that his arrogance would bring about a general revolt, the knights concluded an arrangement in which both

parties were mutually to assist each other in case of danger; but both the knights and the bishops wished to increase their own individual power at the expense of the other, and at last the Landmaster, Halt von Hohenbach, arrested the archbishop, who was liberated a few months after on the death of Hohenbach. His successor, Henry von Dampeshagen, attempted to detach the other prelates and ecclesiastics from the party of the archbishop, who in his turn ordered prayers to be publicly said in the churches for the destruction of the knights. Not content with this, he went so far as to rouse the inhabitants of Riga to open revolt against the authority of the knights, and entered into negotiations with the Lithuanians to assist him in his dispute with them. But his death, and that of the Landmaster, stilled for a time the troubled waters.

On the accession of Count von Schwerin, however, to the archbishopric, and of Bruno to the post of Landmaster, the strife was renewed. The archbishop having renewed the alliance with the Lithuanians, his military retainers, in conjunction with the citizens of Riga, attacked the convent of the Order, captured the Master, whom they hanged, and killed sixty of the defenders. During a period of eighteen months nine desperate engagements took place between the archbishop and the knights. At last the knights managed to surround the former in his stronghold of Thoreide and forced

him to capitulate. The prelate was first conveyed to Wenden, and thence to Fellin, where he was kept in close confinement with several of his friends, their only nourishment being bread and water. The Grand Master in vain attempted to reconcile the opposing parties in Liefland, as the archbishop's friends would in no way acknowledge the authority of the knights. After having appointed several fresh officers the Grand Master proceeded in May, 1296, to Thorn, from which he passed into Bohemia to inspect the establishments of the Order in that country, where he was suddenly taken ill and died.

During the Lithuanian war he had been indefatigable in improving the condition of the country and the prosperity of the towns. Among his most noted improvements were the damming of the banks of the rivers Vistula, Nogat, and Elbing, and the irrigation of the surrounding country. In order to attract immigrants, he demanded no rent for five years from any one who would settle in these districts, which are now the most fruitful in all Prussia. He also induced the bishops to be more conciliating to their subjects. We find that their residences at this time were as follows:—The Bishop of Culm resided at Löbau, the cathedral being situated on the Culm-see. The Bishop of Pomesania lived at Riesenberg, the Chapter being held at Marienwerder. The Bishop of Ermland resided at Heilsberg, and at first held

his Chapter at Braunsberg. The Bishop of Samland resided at Fischausen, the cathedral being in Königsberg. No archbishop or bishop could excommunicate any one without the special permission of the Pope.

In 1293 the Duke Visimir granted the right to the inhabitants of Elbing of obtaining goods from his country duty free. This important concession was afterwards guaranteed by Duke Przemislaus.

We have seen that one of the chief causes of the visit of the Grand Master to Prussia was the death of Duke Mestwin of Pomerania, in the summer of 1296. On his demise the territory was immediately taken possession of by Przemislaus, who now assumed the title of king. The knights naturally excited the other competitors to put forth their claims to the inheritance. The Duke Przemislaus, although supported by the principal nobles, was unable to maintain his sway, for in the year 1296 the Margrave Waldemar of Brandenburg and his allies invaded Pomerania and totally defeated Duke Przemislaus, who was either killed by the enemy or assassinated in an *émeute* by his own soldiers.

There were now five competitors in the field: the Margrave of Brandenburg; the Dukes of Vor-Pomerania; Wladislaus, Duke of Poland; and Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia. Wladislaus seized the reins of government, upon which he appointed Count Swenza, Governor of Dantzic, to be Stadtholder of Pomerania. This nobleman had been

one of the principal counsellors of Mestwin, and his influence in the country led the rival candidates to do their utmost to gain him over to their side. During his tenure of office he was regarded as *de facto* ruler by the greater part of the inhabitants of Pomerania. Fortunately for the Order, he regarded them with the same friendly feeling as his old master Mestwin had done.

We now return to the election of a successor to Conrad von Feuchtwangen. At a Grand Chapter which was held at Venice, in the month of May, 1297, Godfried, Count of Hohenlohe, was elected head of the Order, being a descendant of the previous Grand Master of the same title. He had formerly occupied the post of Landmaster in Austria and Styria, and when elected held the post of Deutschmaster. He was connected with some of the highest families in Germany, and was respected both by the Pope and the Emperor.

The partial cessation of hostilities with the Lithuanians enabled the Landmaster to occupy himself with the internal welfare of the country. Prussian Holland received all the privileges of a large town, and a new town was built in the vicinity of Mewe.

Amongst those whose names deserve to be mentioned in connexion with education in Prussia is the Bishop of Ermland. The agricultural and commercial prosperity of the country was greatly increased by the constant arrival of German immigrants, the result of whose industry was the

erection of many fresh villages and the bringing into cultivation of large tracts of depopulated districts.

In June, 1298, Witen, at the invitation of the Archbishop of Riga, invaded Liefland, and, in conjunction with the prelate's forces, besieged the knights' castle of Karkhus, which fell into their hands by treachery. The Lithuanians now busied themselves in collecting as much movable property as they could obtain in the plains. It appears that they directed their fury principally against the priests, the churches and establishments of whom they invariably levelled to the ground. Fifty thousand persons are said to have been either massacred or carried away into captivity, the pecuniary loss which the knights experienced being estimated at 10,000 marks. The Landmaster, on receiving information of this terrible event, collected a considerable force, and determined, if possible, to recapture the booty and captives before Witen had reached his impenetrable forest. On the 1st of June the Landmaster came up with the Lithuanians at a place called Treiden. His troops, though greatly fatigued by forced marches, had almost succeeded in obtaining a victory, when it was snatched from their grasp. Although 800 Lithuanians strewed the battle-field, and 3,000 Christian captives had been released, Witen still continued the battle with stern persistence. The knights, on their part, fought with heroism, and would, no doubt, have

accomplished their object, had not the enemy been suddenly reinforced by the archbishop's troops. This was the turning point of the engagement. The knights had done all that was in their power, but after having lost sixty of their comrades and their Landmaster, together with 3,000 of his retainers, they retreated in precipitation from the field of battle. The Lithuanians, after having despatched their booty into their own country, again resumed their plundering. In a very short time they slaughtered between three and four thousand people, and collected plunder to the value of 20,000 marks.

To obtain a footing in the country, Witen and his allies now laid siege to Neuermühle, on Lake Stint, in which the archbishop was detained as prisoner. The news of the new alliance between the followers of his ancient foe and the Lithuanians induced the new Grand Master to proceed to Prussia to effect a reconciliation with the archbishop. On his arrival in that country the defeat of the knights and the siege of Neuermühle were made known to him. He at once despatched Berthold Brühaven and Gottfried von Rogga, who was to be Bruno's successor, with a considerable force, to raise the siege of Neuermühle. In a battle which took place in its vicinity the knights were victorious and forced the Lithuanians to a precipitate flight, very few of them reaching their own country.

Brühaven now proceeded to lay siege to Riga, which he captured and gave up to plunder, reserving for himself all the movable property and treasure belonging to the archbishop. Brühaven now invaded Lithuania, where he met with little or no resistance. He captured several strongholds, and forced many of the inhabitants to become Christians. The Comthur of Brandenburg also made a foray into that territory about this time, and burnt the suburbs of Junigede. These raids were followed one after another by the Lithuanians, who destroyed the town of Strasburg and committed great havoc in the country; but on their return they were overtaken, their prisoners recaptured, and themselves cut to pieces.

After the capture of Riga by the knights, the Chapter of the cathedral applied to Erick for assistance, offering to make over to him Semgallia and several districts if he would re-establish the archbishop's authority, which the Danish King agreed to do. To prevent the invasion of Liefland the Grand Master appealed to the Pope, who summoned the disputants to appear before him. As both the knights and the archbishop had to fear the effects of the judgment which they knew the Pope must pronounce against them, they commenced negotiating with each other. It was arranged that the prelate on his part should condone all the injuries that the knights had inflicted on him or his property, and that he would never take any pro-

ceedings against them, the knights undertaking to restore to the archbishop all the castles and districts which they had taken from him, on condition of his inducing his vassals and ecclesiastics to follow his example. But the Prior of Riga would not consent to this arrangement; and the knights still retained their prisoner in custody, and would not release him until forced to do so by the inhabitants of Riga.

In the year 1299 the archbishop proceeded to Rome, in accordance with a summons from the Pope, and died in the following year. The knights do not appear to have sent any delegates to the Papal Court, as they probably feared that the Pontiff would require concessions on their part in spiritual matters; but, to be prepared for all eventualities, the Landmaster, Meinhard von Querfurt, proceeded to Vienna to make certain of the support of the Emperor. Prior to the Landmaster's departure for Germany, his health had been in a very precarious state, and after leaving the Grand Master at Vienna, he returned to his birthplace, Querfurt, where, after a short illness, he breathed his last.

The condition of Prussia at Meinhard's death, when compared with the state of affairs when he assumed the reins of government, fully demonstrated that he was a most able administrator. No man had done more than he in attempting to do away with the serf-like position of the poorer class of Prussians, and we are told that the unfortunate prisoners who were captured in war received a

milder treatment than formerly. Like most of the soldiers of his age, he shrank from no act by which he could accomplish his object, but it can be said in his favour that he conscientiously believed that the condition of the Prussians would be greatly improved under the rule of the Order.

The successor of Querfurt was Conrad von Babenberg, a lineal descendant of the ancient kings of Franconia. He had formerly occupied the post of Chief Officer of the Order at Frankfurt. In acknowledgment of his talents he had been raised to the rank of principal councillor by the Grand Master Feuchtwangen, and had accompanied the latter in his visit to Prussia. He was also with the Grand Master in Vienna when he was promoted to the Landmastership of Prussia in August, 1299; but he never visited the country, for we find that a few months afterwards another knight, Ludwig von Schippen, succeeded him, so that it is highly probable that on account of his diplomatic talents the Grand Master retained him by his side. Von Schippen had occupied many of the most important points in Prussia, and was Comthur of Elbing at the time of his election; but his rule, like that of his predecessor, was very short.

In 1299 a body of Lithuanians invaded Natangen. The Comthur of Brandenburg having assembled a large force advanced against them, but, believing that they had retired, he returned to his castle. This enabled the enemy to carry off a

large number of captives. In an encounter which took place between the Landmaster and the retiring foe, the former was so severely wounded that he died a few months afterwards, at Culm, where he was buried.

Although Pope Boniface was now constantly attempting to organize a fresh crusade, many things prevented its being carried out. Among these were the disputes then going on between Henry, King of Cyprus, and the Templars; the struggles in Germany between Albert I. and Adolph of Nassau; the war between Edward I. of England and the Scots; also between Edward I. and Philip, King of France; and especially the strife which existed between the Pope and the sovereigns and princes of Europe, —all these things seemed to forbid even the possibility of a fresh crusade. As long as the Grand Master could count on the friendship of Venice, and there was any chance of the Eastern possessions of the knights being re-conquered, that Republic was, doubtless, the best residence for him; but as the Venetian Government had displayed considerable hostility towards Feuchtwangen in the latter part of his rule, on account of his friendship towards the King of the Romans, so that, prior to his visit to Germany, he had been obliged to leave Venice, and as the Venetian Republic continued to display the same feeling of animosity towards the new Grand Master, Von Hohenlohe, determined to transfer the seat of government from Venice to

some city in Prussia on the first convenient opportunity. No doubt it became evident that, unless this was done, the aggressive policy of the knights could never be crowned with success, and that in Prussia they might gradually make themselves independent of the Emperor and the Pope.

On the death of Von Schippen, his duties were temporarily performed by the Comthur of Königsberg. During his period of office, the suburbs of Königsberg were formed into a town, and received privileges similar to those of the parent city. It was first called the New Town, but afterwards Löbenicht.

At a General Chapter which was held at Frankfurt, Helwig von Goldbach was elected Landmaster of Prussia. He was thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the country, and was very popular on account of his general kindness towards the lower orders, being styled by them the "father of the poor."

During the rule of Von Goldbach, Prussia enjoyed comparative peace, for the forays of the Lithuanians were generally on a very small scale. Archbishop Isarn, formerly Papal Legate in the North, had become metropolitan of Riga, and had effected a compromise with the knights, in which they acknowledged that the entire country belonged by right to the Pope, and that it was only lent to the Order to enable them to propagate Christianity amongst the heathens. Riga was to be under the sole control of the archbishop,

who was to be supreme in all matters spiritual in Liefland, and on the payment of a thousand marks by the citizens of Riga to the knights, the latter were to surrender the castle. An express arrangement was made as to the number of brothers and their retainers who should be allowed at any one time to enter the town, and that the right of proprietorship of any disputed district should be decided by the Pope. The archbishop, on his part, agreed within the space of a year to break off all connexion with the Lithuanians, or any other heathen race. This for a time gave peace to that part of the dominions of the Order; but the concessions which they had been compelled to make were so one-sided, that it was apparent the old strife would break forth afresh in no very long time. The Landmaster was far more successful in settling the various disputes which existed with other bishops in Prussia. Each controversy seems to have arisen from a desire on the part of the Church for territorial aggrandizement; but it must be said, to the credit of most of the bishops, that they did their utmost to increase the material prosperity of those under their rule. They not only introduced colonists, but spent large sums in assisting those Prussians who had made themselves conspicuous for their fidelity to the Christian yoke. Bishop Heinrich of Ermland, a man far advanced in years, made his name respected long after his death by his endeavours to conciliate and educate

his Prussian subjects. The internal peace which existed in Prussia for about two years enabled the Landmaster also to introduce many useful reforms in every branch of the administration. His efforts appear to have been principally directed to the development of the internal resources of the country, particularly by agriculture and canalization. The German colonists in those days, as now, were satisfied with small profits, so long as they could form themselves into communities, enjoying those social rights which are so dear to the Germanic race.

In the year 1302, the Grand Master, Gottfried von Hohenlohe, came to Prussia, with the ostensible object of superintending the execution of the Papal decision with reference to the archbishop and the Order. His real purpose, however, was to make choice of a future residence for the Head of the Order, who had already been compelled to retire from Venice, and who, owing to unfortunate disputes then going on in Germany, was placed in a most awkward and delicate position. To escape from these difficulties, he thought it best to select a residence in Prussia. The choice of a capital lay between Marienburg, Culm, Elbing, and Marburg. Pope Boniface had decided that all landed property, churches, burgs, or castles which the knights then held, and which had previously been under the jurisdiction of the former Archbishop of Riga, should be restored to his successor, and ample

indemnification paid for the use and revenues derived from them. The Pope further declared that, in case of the knights not obeying his decrees within a certain space of time, he had given instructions to the Archbishop of Riga, the Bishop of Reval, and the Deans of Lubeck and Reval, to excommunicate all those who should interfere with the carrying out of his decision.

Fortunately for the Order, the Archbishop Isarn came to an amicable settlement with the Landmaster of Prussia. The dispute of the municipality with the knights was left to his decision; but his unruly subjects would not conform to it, and applied to the Pope. This so disgusted the archbishop, that he resigned his post in favour of John, Archbishop of Lund, he himself accepting the post of Papal Legate in Denmark. At a Grand Chapter held at Memel, Von Hohenlohe propounded his intention of selecting one of the principal towns as such a project by pointing out the impossibility of his future residence. He urged the necessity of any fresh crusade taking place, so that his residence in Italy was no longer necessary. He also plainly told the knights that the lives they were then leading were in open defiance of the laws of the Order, and that their laxity of morals had lost them the respect of their subjects; that such immorality, if persisted in, must contaminate all classes of society; and that the only possibility of a radical reform of these abuses lay in an arrange-

ment by which the brothers would be placed under the immediate supervision of the Grand Master.

The Landmaster of Prussia and some knights violently opposed the proposal, and bitterly reproached Von Hohenlohe for his attempt to usurp the privileges and rights of the Order. The Grand Master, after hearing these reproaches, calmly tendered his resignation, with the words, "As I am responsible for you in this world, so shall I be held accountable for your acts before the judgment-seat of God." His resignation was accepted; but the importance of his proposals was acknowledged by the majority of the knights, and it was determined to hold a second Chapter. The resignation of Hohenlohe led to that of the Landmaster, Von Goldbach, who retired to Germany, Conrad Sack, formerly Comthur of Thorn, succeeding him. In accordance with the determination formed at Memel, another Grand Chapter was held at Elbing, at which were present the Deutschmaster, Winrich von Busweiler, and the Master of Liefland, Gottfried von Rogga. In this assembly a doubt arose as to whether the resignation of their chief had been forced upon him at Memel, and he was accordingly called upon to state whether that resignation had been voluntary or not. He replied in the affirmative, and that on no condition whatever would he resume the reins of government.

After this declaration the election of a new Grand Master took place, and Siegfried von Feuchtwangen

from Franconia, probably a near relative of Conrad, was elected, who had formerly been Comthur of the Order at Vienna. At first he refused the proffered honour, as he, like his predecessor, was fully convinced of the necessity of the permanent residence of the Grand Master in Prussia. He was, however, induced not only to accept the office, but returned to Venice, accompanied by the Grand Comthur and the Grand Trapierer. But there now came forward in Germany a number of knights, headed by Conrad von Wida and Eberhard von Staufen, who openly refused to acknowledge the new head of the Order, as they believed that the late Grand Master had indirectly been forced to resign; and, what is almost incredible, Hohenlohe himself confirmed this, and called upon the entire Order to still acknowledge his supremacy.

Feuchtwangen, who was then at Venice, produced letters from the bishops who were present, and who distinctly declared that the resignation had in all respects been voluntary. To a certain extent there is no doubt that the pressure brought to bear on the Grand Master by the knights in Liefland led to his resignation; and it is also evident that a considerable laxity in the mode of life pursued by the brotherhood did exist, and that their German comrades, being aware of the fact, desired to put an end to these evils, which could only be effected by a ruler of determined and spotless character like Siegfried von Feuchtwangen,

permanently residing in Prussia. Hohenlohe, up to his death, styled himself Grand Master, but the combination of the two Landmasters prevented him from making his claims good. During his tenure of office the towns of Frauenburg, Mewe, and Graudenz were built, the last mentioned being on the site where previously stood the stronghold of Grodeck; likewise Mohrungen and Heiligenheil, on the site where formerly stood a grove, sacred to the heathen god Kurcho. About the same time that these new towns sprang into existence, the older towns of Golub, Preuss, Löbenicht, and Thorn received fresh privileges.

In 1303 Prussia was visited by a violent earthquake, which did considerable damage. In the following year a certain Count of Homburg brought considerable reinforcements to assist the Order in the Lithuanian war, and with the brothers invaded and devastated the districts of Garthe and Pograuden, capturing by treachery the stronghold of Qukaim. The Landmaster does not appear to have taken a part in the inroads into Lithuania, contenting himself with drawing up the plan of these operations, and, like his predecessor, paid great attention to the development of the prosperity of the country.

During all this period the intestine struggle still continued; for the supporters of Loktek, who had taken refuge in Hungary, were in constant revolt against the King of Bohemia.

Cujavia was in the year 1303 ruled by Lesko, Przemislaus, and Casimir, the sons of Duke Ziemomisl, and in the war which was then going on between the King of Bohemia and Prince Charles Robert for the crown of Hungary, Lesko, who had taken a prominent part in hostilities, was made prisoner. Not being able to raise the necessary funds for his ransom, he applied to Conrad Sack, who advanced him the sum of 180 marks of Thorn pfennings, receiving as security the territory of Michelau; and during the ensuing year he obtained other sums from the Landmaster, amounting in all to 300 marks. It was further stipulated that should the Duke or his brothers not repay the ransom within three years, the entire territory, together with all rights and privileges, should become the sole and undivided property of the Order. The Duke seems also to have pledged another portion of his domains to that body in the vicinity of Strasburg. After the expiration of the fixed period of payment, the Duke appears to have offered to redeem the territory; but this the knights refused, although willing to pay him the sum of 500 marks down, which he was forced to accept.

In Pomerania, through the friendship which the knights had displayed towards the King of Bohemia, they had obtained large grants of land which his son and successor formally ratified, in the hope of preventing them from siding with the Margrave of Brandenburg or the followers of Loktek.

In 1305 a body of Lithuanians invaded Poland and laid siege to Kalisch. The Governor not having a sufficient force for their expulsion, called on the Order for assistance, which was promptly rendered, and by this aid the enemy were forced to raise the siege and return to their own country.

On the accession of Wenceslaus to the throne of Bohemia in 1305, at the age of sixteen, the Margrave of Brandenburg seized a portion of the Neumark and made preparations to conquer the country. Conrad Sack seems to have mediated between the two parties, and negotiations were set on foot, when the King of Bohemia, feeling that he would be unable to maintain his supremacy over Poland and Pomerania, offered to cede a considerable portion of the latter to the Margraves of Brandenburg, on condition of their restoring to him the Margravate of Meissen. This was declined. King Wenceslaus now requested the Prussian Landmaster to mediate between himself and Loktek, who had returned to Poland and was at the head of a considerable force. Conrad Sack accordingly arranged a meeting of Polish and Bohemian delegates at Thorn, at which several of the knights and bishops were present, and which resulted in the conclusion of an armistice between the Dukes Wladislaus and Przemislaus with the Polish Governor, Paul von Paulstein. At this interview it was also settled that delegates should meet at Brzesc at the earliest opportunity to effect an arrangement between the King of Bohemia

and his Polish rivals. From what we can gather from these transactions, it is evident that the Landmaster had come to a secret understanding with the King of Bohemia, and that for their services in settling the Polish and Pomeranian difficulty, the knights were to be allowed to acquire a considerable portion of Pomeranian territory. It appears that during these negotiations Count Swenza, who was then supreme, together with his son Peter von Neuenburg, made over all the domains which had been given to them by the King of Bohemia, or had been granted to them, to enable them to raise sufficient money to cover the military expenditure. Though it is stated that the Bohemian governor sold them, in all probability the greater part of the money went to the King of Bohemia, and had the treaty been concluded, Count Swenza would have received fresh territory; but before the completion of these private arrangements the King of Bohemia was assassinated in August, 1306.

On the death of Wenceslaus, Loktek was acknowledged King of Poland. After having received the oath of allegiance he repaired to Pomerania, where, by his lenient conduct towards those Pomeranians who had supported the cause of the King of Bohemia, he was in a very short time acknowledged by them as the legitimate sovereign. Count Swenza retained his office as Governor of Dantzic; but his son, for some unknown reason, was compelled to resign the office which he held as Captain

of Pomerania. This post, together with the castle, was given to the Duke of Cujavia. The union of Pomerania with the Crown of Poland was not advantageous to the knights. They had, however, gained a considerable territory, and were unable to offer any opposition, as they required the good-will of the Poles in order to carry on the war with the Lithuanians.

During the Polish and Bohemian negotiations the Lithuanians had been quiet; but, profiting by Loktek's visit to Pomerania, their Grand Duke advanced with a large force against Poland. The Landmaster, having heard that the Lithuanian prince had taken with him the greater part of the garrison of the important fortress of Garthe, ordered Albert von Hagen to push forward by forced marches, and, if possible, to take the town and fortress by surprise. In this, to a certain extent, they were successful, because, favoured by a tremendous storm, the knights were able to seize the works in the suburbs, which they not only sacked, but also burned to the ground, killing every one they could lay hands upon. Finding the citadel too strong, however, they refrained from attacking it, and withdrew their forces. But now Eberhard von Birneburg, Comthur of Königsberg, with a very considerable force advanced towards Garthe, the citadel of which had been reinforced by the Grand Duke on hearing of the news of Albert von Hagen's success. On arriving in the

vicinity of the stronghold the Lithuanian army advanced to meet their opponents. A desperate struggle ensued, which continued with alternate success from sunrise to noon, when the knights considered it prudent to retire, having lost not only their leader, but several of their best commanders, with many of the fighting men. The Lithuanians, however, did not follow up their antagonists. Whether this defeat was the cause of Conrad Sack's resignation of the post of Landmaster, or whether it was ill-health, is not distinctly stated. On his return he was appointed to the Comthurship of Golub, where he resided in the strictest seclusion until his death.

He was succeeded by Sieghard von Schwarzburg, who appears to have occupied the post of Landmaster for a few months only, and was succeeded by Henry von Plotzke, who was despatched from Germany into Prussia by the Grand Master, in January, 1307. A considerable force of Rheinlanders, under the command of Count John of Sponheim, Count Adolph of Winthimel, and several other knights, reached Prussia to take part in the campaign against the Lithuanians; but the winter was so mild that operations on a large scale could not be undertaken. The Order also received pecuniary assistance from Bohemia and other countries. It was the custom for relations, on the death of a near relative, to enlist a certain number of mercenaries, who advanced a sufficient sum to maintain

them during the campaign against the heathens, for the good of the souls of the departed. John, Bishop of Prague, having found out that many of the mercenaries either deserted after a short service, or never went to Prussia at all, advised the Bohemians to send their pious offerings direct to the knights. The commanders of the frontier fortresses, notwithstanding the mild weather, made constant forays into Lithuania, with varying success. Among these the suburbs of Putenike were twice destroyed, and finally the Order obtained possession of the castle by treachery. The people of Karsau, finding further resistance useless, retreated, withdrawing the garrisons from the strongholds Scwneiten and Bibberwaten. In the year 1307 took place the arrest of the Grand Master of the Templars, which event will be narrated more fully hereafter.

Towards the end of the same year, the King of Poland left Pomerania for the purpose of attacking Henry, Duke of Glogau, who was attempting to obtain possession of Great Poland. Before leaving Pomerania, Peter von Neuenburg had demanded a very considerable sum of money from the King as an indemnification for what he had spent in keeping up the military establishments of Pomerania, urging that he and his father had been compelled to sell all their estates to the knights to repay themselves. Loktek, however, who was probably aware of the nature of the transaction, declined to entertain Neuenburg's claim. Thereupon the Count

began to treat with the Margrave of Brandenburg, into whose hands he delivered several burgs and villages. This enabled the Brandenburg army to advance before Dantzic, the citizens of which, who were on bad terms with the Polish garrison, opened the gates to the Margrave. But the garrison, which was under the command of the civil governor, Bogussa, and the captain of the castle, Albert, refused to surrender the citadel. The Brandenburgers, with the assistance of the towns-people, closely besieged the Poles. Bogussa, finding that all supplies had been cut off, and that the surrender was imminent, managed to escape in disguise to Sandomir, and make his way to the King. The latter not being able to give immediate assistance, directed Bogussa to solicit the assistance of the Landmaster, who readily acceded to the request. It was agreed that the knights should garrison the citadel for a whole year, one-half at their own expense, the Polish Duke undertaking to maintain the rest of the soldiers; but the citadel was to remain in the possession of the knights until the money expended by them in maintaining the garrison had been refunded by the Duke. The Comthur of Culm, at the head of some picked men, threw himself into the citadel, the defence of which was now divided between the Poles and the Order. The vigorous and obstinate resistance of the garrison and the constant sallies made by the knights protracted the siege for some time, when the internal affairs of

his own country compelled the Margrave to return to Brandenburg, leaving a force to protect the town. The Poles and the knights, finding that the siege was being raised, now entered the town and executed the ringleaders. After this the Polish commandant required the knights to retire, which they declined to do, and in a dispute which took place the former expelled the Poles from the town and citadel. On another occasion the knights, being reinforced by the Landmaster, determined to get possession of the town and castle of Dirschau, situated on the Vistula. It was defended by Duke Casimir of Cujavia. On the approach of the knights, Casimir came in person to their camp, and in vain attempted to make terms with the Landmaster, who declared that he would be only satisfied with the unconditional surrender of Dirschau and the districts which belonged to it. To prevent the possibility of any resistance, he persuaded the Duke to remain and partake of a repast with him. The Polish garrison, not believing there was any danger during the Duke's absence, did not pay sufficient attention to the movements of the knights and their retainers, who managed to approach near enough to the gates and walls of the castle to be able unexpectedly to force an entrance, and gain possession of it. On Casimir's return, he found, to his astonishment, the standard of the knights waving over the ramparts of the stronghold.

Having no option left, he gladly accepted the terms of the knights to allow himself and his men a free passage to their own country. Wladislaus requested an interview with the Landmaster, which took place at Krajowitz in Cujavia. Von Plotzke declared he was quite ready to surrender Dantzic to the King on his paying him the sum of 100,000 marks of Bohemian groschen. The miserable state of the royal finances, however, rendered it impossible for him to pay it, and there was little prospect of his being able to do so at a future time, for he was then engaged in a contest with Henry of Glogau, the Brandenburgers, and the Lithuanians. After bitter reproaches on the part of the King the interview came to an end.

The Landmaster now proceeded to besiege the fortress of Swetz, which up to this time had been considered impregnable. It was erected in the angle of the junction of the Blackwater with the Vistula. To the south it was protected by smaller forts and a forest. The siege commenced towards the end of the year 1308. The garrison, which was commanded by Duke Casimir and a celebrated Polish captain named Bogamil, offered a most determined resistance. After four weeks' siege, in which the rams and wooden towers of the knights were constantly repulsed, a Pomeranian named Czedrowitz, who belonged to the garrison and was in the pay of the knights, during the night cut all the cords of the catapults and war machines and went

over to the knights, who immediately advanced their wooden towers to the walls. The Poles rushed to the defence, and, undismayed by this act of treachery, made such a stubborn resistance that they drove back the storming party of the knights. The commandant now proposed an armistice for a month, promising that should he not be relieved within that time, he would surrender the stronghold to the Landmaster. This was accepted. Wladislaus unsuccessfully attempted to relieve Swetz, and on the appointed day Casimir and Przemislaus with their followers retired from the place, to be occupied by the knights.

The greater part of West Pomerania now fell into the hands of the Order. All those who had displayed the slightest ill-feeling were most severely punished, either by fines or expulsion from the country. The entire population of Dirschau were compelled to forsake their homes. Shortly after this Duke Przemislaus, who had a claim on Duke Wladislaus for the sum of 4,000 silver marks, offered to cede to the knights the district of Fischwerder, situated between the Vistula, the Nogat, and the Frische Haff. This purchase was effected at Orlau in October, 1309, for 1,000 marks. At a meeting which took place between Waldemar of Brandenburg and the Landmaster at Soldin, the former, in consideration of the sum of 10,000 marks, declared the knights to be the hereditary proprietors of the towns of Dantzic, Dirschau, and

Swetz, and of all the districts belonging to them. He further undertook to have this arrangement ratified by the Emperor, the Princes of Rugen, and the Duke of Glogau. It was declared optional for the Order to obtain the consent of the Pope.

In March of 1309, the Samogitians, under their leaders Mauste and Sudarge, invaded Prussia, inflicting considerable damage; but on the approach of a strong force of knights they hastily retired to their own country. We now return to the affairs of Liefland.

In 1303 Archbishop Isarn proceeded to Rome, and the see remained vacant for a year, during which time peace was maintained between the priestly party and the knights. In the year 1304 Bishop Frederick arrived in Liefland. He was originally a Bohemian monk of the Order of the Minorites, who had on account of his high character been raised to the see of Riga by Pope Benedict; and he did his utmost to cement the good understanding which apparently existed between the knights and the ecclesiastics. But the old feeling of jealousy still existed, and the knights were determined on the first opportunity to break the power of the sturdy burghers of Riga. For this purpose they secretly purchased the cloister and fort of Dunamünde from the Abbots Libert and Dithmar von Falkenau for 2,000 marks. Some time previously the Lithuanians had attacked the Cistercian Cloister and murdered all the inmates. The abbot

called the knights to his assistance, who immediately strongly fortified the position and made the above bargain with the two brothers. As Dunamünde belonged to the see of Riga, and was of the greatest importance to the inhabitants on account of its position on the gulf, the archbishop demanded that it should be at once delivered into his hands. This the knights obstinately refused to do. It is stated that he not only offered to repay the sum of 2,000 marks, but to make great concessions as well in favour of the knights. But the citizens of Riga, believing that the next step would be the subjugation of the town, reopened negotiations with the Lithuanians. The Landmaster thereupon concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the Danish vassals and the Bishop of Dorpat. Hostilities now broke out, and a horde of Lithuanians invaded the territory of the Order and that of the Bishop of Dorpat, where they seized a large amount of booty and made many prisoners. On the approach of the army of the knights the Lithuanians retreated before the walls of Riga. The former, to prevent the citizens from making common cause with the Lithuanians, bought them off for the sum of 7,000 marks. The Lithuanians at once murdered all their captives, and in a desperate encounter with the knights and the Danes, all the heathens who could not effect their escape were slaughtered without mercy.

The knights now did their utmost to excite

jealousy amongst the ecclesiastics, to induce them to acknowledge their supremacy.

By these and other nefarious means they in a very short time nearly got possession of all the domains of the archbishop, who in an open proclamation detailed at great length the acts of the knights, and their attempt to obtain possession of the entire country. He also accused the Order of trafficking with the heathens, and secretly abetting them in their forays on his territory. The document was made public in 1305. The archbishop then proceeded to Rome to bring his case before the Pope. From the Holy City he despatched a letter to Bishop Engelbert of Dorpat, enjoining him to at once call upon the Grand Master to carry out the arrangement concluded with Archbishop Isarn. This was refused, the knights declaring that they would formally appeal to the Papal Court.

About the year 1307 Gerhard von Jocke, having received considerable reinforcements, and having nothing to fear from the supporters of the archbishop, as the Order was now paramount, made a foray into Russia, took Pleskow, and expelled the Stadtholder Feodor. At Rome the cause of the knights was in disfavour; for Pope Clement, who had already commenced his persecutions of the Templars, seized this convenient opportunity to undermine the authority of the knights in Liefland and Prussia; and there can be no doubt

that they had been guilty of want of faith and acts of violence both in Pomerania and in Liefland.

In June, 1309, a Papal Bull appeared, by which the Archbishop of Bremen, Albert of Milan, and the Papal Chaplain were directed to proceed to Liefland, and make a thorough investigation of the dispute pending between the archbishop and the Order. This Bull, however, was so one-sided in describing the many complaints made against the knights, that it became evident that the real intention of the Pope was to place the Order under the immediate supervision of his representatives. During the summer of this year (1309) the old Grand Master, Von Hohenlohe, died at Marburg; and Von Feuchtwangen, to prevent his adversaries from attempting to elect another Grand Master, held a Chapter, in which he was himself unanimously re-elected.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1310—1330.

Marienburg becomes the Capital—Fresh Code of Laws—Lithuanian War—Death of Feuchtwangen—Election of Carl von Trier (1311)—Acquisitions in Pomerania—The Templars—Death of Pope Clement—Forced Resignation of the Grand Master—His Appeal to the Pope—Renewal of Hostilities—King Gedimin offers to embrace Christianity—Arrival of the Grand Master at Rome—Final Decision of the Pope and Cardinals—Death of Carl von Trier—Accession of Werner von Orseln (1324)—Condition of Germany—Invasion of Poland and Samogitia—Part of Dobrin ceded to the Knights—The Powers of the Grand Master defined—Wladislaus invades Prussia—Wladislaus defeated—Fall of Riga—Assassination of Werner von Orseln (1330).

THE situation of Marienburg, both from a strategical and political point of view, seems to have marked it out as the capital of the Order. Accordingly the Chapter fully acquiesced in Feuchtwangen's plan; and early in the spring of 1310 he and his councillors took up their residence in the newly erected palace with great solemnity. Elbing ceased to be the seat of the principal establishment of the Order. The post of Comthur of Marienburg was abolished and replaced by that of Grand Comthur. Heinrich

von Plotzke, one of the most sagacious and experienced officers, received this high dignity. The Grand Comthur was first councillor of the Grand Master. After him came the head Hospitaller. Eberhard von Birneburg was appointed to this rank. It is not known who occupied the third post, that of Trapierer. The post of Treasurer, which was fourth in rank, was given to John Schrape. All these officers had constantly to reside under the same roof with the Grand Master, so that he could at any moment avail himself of their advice. Culm still remained the nominal capital of Prussia.

One of the first acts of Feuchtwangen was to assemble a Grand Chapter at Marienburg, to discuss the affairs of the country, and to introduce such laws as might tend to remedy the evils then existing. Among these was one to the effect that no Jews, tricksters, or conjurors were allowed to reside in Prussia. The Jews had already since the thirteenth century taken up their abode in Poland, and it is probable that many of them had, in their thirst of gain, ventured into Prussia. It was thought necessary, therefore, to expel them from the country, on the ground that they would prove a formidable obstacle to the development of Christianity amongst the Prussians, and prevent many from embracing its doctrines. All Prussians were compelled to attend divine service, and to regularly frequent the confessional, and use no other language but German. It was further enacted that they should

not occupy a superior position in any village or town, on board any ship, or in a fortress; in fact, the only calling that they had to pursue was that of tillers of the soil, and a law was actually introduced, stipulating the rate of wages for males, females, and children. Any domestic deserting the service of his master was liable to have his ear nailed to the door-post. There were other laws, the infringement of which was punished with a fine of 100 marks, a very considerable sum in those days. For the purpose of checking drunkenness and gluttony a law was passed, stating the number of dishes to be consumed on marriage festivities and saints' days. No goods or liquors were allowed to be sold on Sunday. No person was to retail beer, wine, or goods without a special licence. Gambling was also strictly forbidden. All these laws were publicly read three times a year.

A law was passed that any Prussian who had drunk the last out of a vessel should on its being refilled be the first to drink out of it, as a proof that no poison was contained therein; and any contravention of this law was punished with instant death.

In the year 1311 the Lithuanians invaded Samland and Natangen, laid waste the country, and took many prisoners. The Order immediately pursued them, and as it was to be supposed that the Lithuanians, according to their usual custom, would disperse on reaching their own territory, the Comthur,

Fritz von Waldenberg, invaded the territory of Pogrande and devastated it. A certain knight, named Otto von Pargo, followed up this success and invaded the country around Garthe.

In a very short time Marienburg became a town of great importance, and the Grand Master naturally did his utmost to improve the condition of its inhabitants and those of the surrounding country.

In the month of June, 1310, the Grand Master, accompanied by a large retinue, proceeded to Stolpe in Pomerania, where the purchase of Dantzic, Swetz, and Dirschau was solemnly ratified by Waldemar of Brandenburg, and all those who had claims on these places. The Margrave received the sum of 10,000 marks, and undertook at his own expense to obtain the consent of the Emperor to the arrangement. Five thousand marks were paid down by the Grand Master; the balance was to remain until Waldemar had received the Emperor's sanction. Should he die before this the 5,000 marks were to go to John of Brandenburg.

No mention was made in these transactions of the right which the King of Poland had over Pomerania, although the knights had formerly acknowledged it. The Bishops of Samland and Ermland, at the request probably of the Grand Master, addressed a letter to the Pope, in which they attempted to refute at great length all the accusations brought against the knights; and wound up by saying that they were utterly

groundless and false, that the knights led a pure and spotless life, and were always ready to shed their blood in defence of the Cross. The bishops' example was followed by the Provincial Prior Peregrin, and the President of a Provincial Chapter of Mendicant Friars.

Towards the end of the year 1310, the Grand Master was seized with a fit from which he never recovered. As there was no proper place of interment in Marienburg, he was buried in great state at Culmsee. Polish writers declare that he died from the effects of a violent conflict with the devil. Such conflicts between the brethren and Satan, if we are to believe the stories handed down to us, were not unfrequent.

The Knights Albrecht von Meissen and Wolfram appear to have had a severe struggle with him; and it is also related that the ruler of darkness appeared to Brother Heinrich Cunce (who had formerly been a robber) on his death-bed, and endeavoured to convert him to Judaism. It was the greatest sinners among them, it would seem, that were the most subject to these visitations. Many of the knights were in the habit of mortifying themselves in the most absurd manner. It is related that Berthold Brühan, in order to be quite certain of his chastity, slept with a beautiful virgin quite naked for the space of twelve months, and never once gave way to his animal passions. Brother Hermann Saracenus never refused any one

anything, who asked it in the name of the Virgin Mary; he declared that she was his wife, and he fought a duel on her account with another knight. For this he enjoyed her constant protection, and was invited to partake of the joys of heaven.

Feuchtwangen had prepared his schemes of reform with such great genius, that it only required a man of moderate capacity as a successor to carry them out. Such was Carl von Bessart, commonly called Carl von Trier, who was called to the dignity of Grand Master in the year 1311. He was elected at Marienburg by a majority of only one vote, the unsuccessful candidate being the Comthur of Dantzic, David von Cammerstein or Hammerstein.

The position of the new Grand Master was extremely perilous. Up to this time the decision of the Pope had not been made public, and it was fully expected to be of a hostile nature. Constant reports were coming in from the different commandants on the frontier of Lithuania of the collecting of a large army under the Grand Duke Witen.

The conduct of the knights in Pomerania and the territory of the Archbishop of Riga had greatly exasperated the inhabitants; and the Duke of Poland, although weak, was ready to seize the first opportunity of revenging himself on the Order.

The Grand Master determined to try to come to terms with the Polish Duke, who believed that, on account of the difficulties which surrounded them, the knights would be ready to purchase his friend-

ship by considerable concessions on their part. A meeting was accordingly arranged to take place between them at Brzesc in Cujavia, in the month of February. At this interview the Grand Master demanded the unconditional recognition of all the districts and towns which the knights had acquired in Pomerania. In return he offered to cede to the Duke the castle of Nessau and some villages in the vicinity, with a contingent of sixty lancers, and to erect a cloister with a rich endowment, where prayers should be constantly said for the souls of his forefathers.

In the year 1312 the knights obtained fresh acquisitions in Pomerania. They were made either by purchase or mortgage. As step by step they extended their territory towards the west, so did they towards the south, particularly at the expense of Poland. In this year the persecution of the Templars was finally consummated by the tragic fate of their Grand Master. As the real causes which brought about the dissolution of that Order are not very generally known, we here give a brief narrative of them.

It would be idle to deny that, prior to the downfall of the Order of the Templars, these warrior-monks, by their arrogance and the lives they led, had lost that respect which had formerly been entertained for them. By a succession of able administrators they had acquired such power and influence in all parts of Europe, that neither sove-

reigns nor statesmen dared commence any great undertaking without the advice of the knights, for they generally occupied some of the most important offices of state. In fact, the Grand Master in France might be regarded as a military Pope. Philip of France, a man of unbridled ambition and rapacity, who at that time aspired to make the head of the Christian religion his servile tool, could not be presumed to tolerate the existence of an association which had often opposed him in his measures, and was even suspected of having intrigued for his downfall. Early in the year 1305, the Templars had been accused of heresy and debauchery, and it was stated that on taking oath they had to deny the Christian religion, as a proof of which they were obliged to spit on the Cross.

In the year 1306 the Pope proposed to incorporate the Templars with the Hospitallers, the latter being more amenable to his authority. The Grand Master of the Templars, however, opposed the project, and drew up a memorial in which he stated in full his reasons for opposing the proposed amalgamation of the two Orders. The Grand Master De Molay discussed the question with great argumentative skill, showing that the advantages more than counterbalanced the disadvantages, and finally made a very pathetic appeal to the Pontiff in behalf of his brotherhood. The Pope was not insensible to the Grand Master's arguments, and agreed to let the matter rest for the present.

Philip, King of France, having artfully proved to the Pope the advantages which both would gain by the suppression of the Order, the Pontiff called upon the Grand Master to appear before him at Avignon with sixty knights. Here they were detained a year, until the King and the Pope had come to some definite course of action. The Grand Master De Molay demanded that he and his brothers should be openly tried, and that the charges should be specifically mentioned. From a Bull of the Pope, August 24, 1307, we find that he did not believe in the charges brought against the Order, but he was obliged to act in accordance with Philip's desires. This crafty monarch soon found two willing instruments to assist him in the destruction of the Order. These were two criminals under sentence: the one had formerly been a Templar, but on account of heresy had been condemned by the Grand Master De Molay to imprisonment for life; the other a citizen of Beziers, named Squins de Florian. It is said that, according to usual custom, these two individuals confessed each other, for in those days any man who had committed a grievous crime was not allowed a confessor. The statement of the knight was of such an extraordinary nature that Squins informed the governor of the jail that he had obtained the revelation of a secret of the greatest importance to the King of France. The governor, knowing his royal master's hatred to the Order, desired him to proceed, for the purpose of

soliciting an audience, to the Court of Philip, who guaranteed to him his life and liberty and a considerable sum of money, on condition of his divulging all that he knew concerning the Order. So infamous were the crimes which he accused the Order of being constantly in the habit of committing, that very few writers have had the courage to give particulars of them. Suffice it to say that Philip, knowing that he could count on the assistance of the clergy and his needy nobles, immediately ordered the arrest of the Grand Master and sixty knights at his palace in Paris on the 13th of October, 1307, and all the Templars in France were similarly treated.

Philip, in order to clear himself of the charge of anything like private revenge, directed the public prosecutor to lay before all the doctors, professors, and jurists of the University of Paris, an elaborate account of the charges which had been brought against the Templars. This assembly declared that the King was perfectly justified in arresting the knights and confiscating their property, and the people of Paris were requested to appear in the gardens of the palace for the purpose of hearing the charges of which the knights were declared guilty.

The Templars, who occupied a very considerable position in England at the time, naturally took up their comrades' cause with the greatest warmth. Philip, therefore, despatched Bernhard Peleté to the Court of Edward of England to induce him to

suppress the Order as he had done; but the English monarch, being fully aware of the motives which had influenced Philip, wrote him a very polite letter, saying that the subject should meet with the strictest inquiry. Edward, being fully aware of the power of the Templars, and what advantage it would be to him if he could become their protector, did his utmost to induce his foreign allies not to accede to Philip's request until they had fully inquired into the matter. But the Pope demanded that the English King should carry out Philip's plan, which he did reluctantly; but it soon became apparent to Pope Clement that if he did not bestir himself in the matter as to what share he was to obtain in the property of the Templars, Philip, in all probability, would divide it between himself, the bishops, and the nobles. The Pope, therefore, despatched two cardinals to the King, to say that the property of the Templars could not be confiscated without his special sanction, and, to prevent the French clergy from assisting the King, he suspended all the archbishops and bishops. Philip at first bid defiance to the Pope, but, knowing that he could not do anything without his assistance, handed over the domains to the cardinals, and sent some of the principal Templars to be interrogated by the Pope himself. Shortly afterwards the Papal inquisitor, with several French nobles, examined 140 Templars. It is stated that they, with the exception of three, confessed that the Order was

nothing more nor less than a temple of *sodomy*, and that they worshipped a species of image. Most of these confessions were extorted by the rack, for on the knights reappearing, they recanted all their former statements.

The commissioners were still at a loss what proceedings they should take against the Grand Master and his brother knights, and it was determined that they should be now charged with heresy, which would prevent them claiming the right of receiving any assistance in their defence. On the Grand Master hearing his confession read to him, which he was informed he had made before three cardinals at Chinon, he declared it was a tissue of falsehoods, and that he had never made such admissions.

Peter de Boulogne, the Procurator-General of the Order, declared that in prison they had been shown letters, bearing the seal of the King of France, guaranteeing them life and liberty if they would make the necessary confession, and that certain death would be their punishment if they did not avail themselves of the royal pardon, and that the Pope and the King had come to a solemn arrangement by which the Order was to be abolished for ever. Those knights who would not defame their Order were tortured until they did so. Notwithstanding all this, fifty-nine of the principal knights were sentenced to be burnt alive, and the same punishment was meted out to all those who had recanted or maintained their innocence. It is a

curious fact, that as long as those who were burnt had life, they declared their innocence in the name of God.

In a Papal Bull, which was published on the 3rd of May, 1312, the Order was solemnly abolished. Those knights who had made the necessary confession received various terms of imprisonment. The King of England and the King of Portugal seem to have defended the Templars to the last. A large portion of the property of the fraternity was given to the rival Orders, on condition of their maintaining the surviving members. We cannot conclude this description without quoting the answers of an English knight, named Herbert Blanke, to the French inquisitors who came to England to assist in the trial of the Templars. On being asked what the secrets of the Order were, he replied, "Obedience, chastity, and poverty, if you consider them as such." "But why is there any secrecy?" To which Blanke curtly replied, "Propter stultitiam."

The greatest opponents of the Templars were, doubtless, the priests and the members of the monastic institutions, on account of their priestly character and celibacy. That there did exist a secret code of laws, which bound them together as brothers, is very evident; but as regards the abominable crimes of which they were accused, no writer has ever substantiated the charge.

In 1313 the long postponed investigation of the

dispute between the Archbishop of Riga and the Order commenced; not by the Archbishop of Bremen, however, but by the Papal Legate, Canon Franz of Moliano, the Bishop of Ermland, and several other ecclesiastics of the different bishoprics. The Order had to pay their expenses, and it was not until the month of November, 1313, that they had completed their labours. Of the 230 charges brought against the Order, the greater part were considered to have been satisfactorily proved. Prior to this, the Order had been placed under an interdict for not having delivered up Dunamünde. The Grand Master directed Bruel to state that the Papal Legate had acted in direct defiance of the Pope's injunctions, and that the prescribed period for the evacuation of the fortress and town was so short, that it had been impossible for the knights to carry it out. The Procurator managed to get the Pope to leave the investigation of the appeal to the Cardinal of Colonna, who decided in favour of the Order, and in May the interdict was withdrawn. In order to legalize the purchase of Dunamünde, the Grand Master induced the Chief Abbot of the Cistercian Order to express his acquiescence, but with the condition that it was to receive the sanction of the Pope. The officers of the Order, however, and the ecclesiastics having neglected to pay the Papal Legate the necessary sums for carrying on the investigation, they were again placed under an interdict, and it

was only by payment of a large sum of money that the Pope was induced to withdraw it, but not before the expenses of the Legate had been paid. Up to the period of Clement's demise, he and his cardinals were in constant receipt of large presents from the Order, and he skilfully managed, by post-poning his decision up to his death, which took place in 1314, to constantly mulct the treasury of the Order. As the cardinals took two years before selecting a successor, the knights were able in the mean time to strengthen their authority in Livonia and Pomerania.

In 1315 the young Margrave, John of Branden-burg, having attained his majority, ratified the purchase of the Pomeranian territory by the knights. The severity of the Grand Master, Carl von Trier, in punishing those who lived in defiance of the rules of the Order, created a dangerous feeling of discontent, and an unfortunate act of his brought about his forced resignation.

It would seem that the Landmaster of Liefland had been forced to resign in 1317, and the Grand Master had selected in his stead John von Hohen-horst. The brothers in Liefland, however, refused to accept him as their master, stating that he had been guilty of theft. Carl von Trier upon this ordered an investigation, and it was proved that the knight had actually embezzled a considerable sum of money. This enabled the knights in Prussia to demand a Grand Chapter at Marienburg. Here all

kinds of charges were brought against the Grand Master by his opponents, and he was called upon to resign. Meanwhile Von Trier had gone to Germany, and when the knights were about to proceed to a fresh election, it was discovered that he had taken with him the seals of office, together with the official ring. The knights then appointed temporarily Frederick von Willenburg as Landmaster, Werner von Orseln as Grand Comthur, while Heinrich von Plotzke was nominated Marshal.

In the year 1316 Pope John XXII. ascended the Papal throne. Like his predecessor, he was a man of unbounded ambition, and was determined at all hazards to increase by every possible means the domination of Rome. His first act towards the Order was a letter addressed to them from Avignon, in which he reprimanded the brotherhood in the strongest terms for having neglected for so many years past to pay the yearly tribute money to his predecessors; declaring that if all arrears were not paid into the treasury before the lapse of three months, he would place them under an interdict. He also threatened to do the same if the treaty which had been concluded with the Landmaster and the Danish vassals and some of the ecclesiastics of Lithuania, for the purpose of protecting each other from the attacks of Russians, Lithuanians, or other foreigners, was not immediately dissolved. He declared it was directed against the authority of the Church, viz., the Archbishop of Riga.

Not content with this, the Pope excited the Polish bishops to put forth claims for losses which had been brought upon them through the occupation of Pomeranian territory by the knights, who had attempted to place these ecclesiastics in the same position as the Prussian bishops, namely, one of dependence on the Order. The Archbishop of Gnesen and the Bishops of Posen, Leslau, and Plotzk placed it therefore under the interdict, and, in conjunction with Duke Wladislaus, despatched Bishop Gerward of Leslau to the Papal Court, to make a formal complaint against the illegal conduct of the knights in seizing the territory of Pomerania, and totally ignoring the rights of the Duke and the bishops. The Pope now despatched two Legates; one to inquire into the disputes between the Poles and the Order, and the other to examine into the affairs of Liefland.

In a Bull issued to the Order, the Pope summoned the disputants to appear before him within the period of six months under pain of excommunication; and that it was at once not only to deliver to the Archbishop of Riga Dunamünde and all other possessions which had been taken from him, but also indemnify him for any loss of revenue, which, if not promptly executed, would be followed by excommunication. This is what we, in modern phrase, should call sharp practice, and it now became evident to the knights in Liefland and Prussia that they had made a fatal mistake in forcing their

Grand Master to resign. His character and talents had enabled him not only to increase the extent of the Prussian territory, but likewise to gain the respect of the Pope and the princes of Germany. The Pope had already rebuked the Order in a threatening manner for their unjustifiable conduct in compelling his resignation; and as it was necessary to obtain the acknowledgment of a new Grand Master by the Pontiff, the attitude which he had assumed in this controversy rendered it highly improbable that he would acknowledge the legality of any fresh election. Consequently the knights, having no other alternative, were forced to despatch a deputation, with the Marshal at their head, to request the Grand Master to return to Prussia and resume the reins of government. The meeting took place at Erfurt, where Carl von Trier declined to return to Prussia. Shortly after he assembled a Chapter at Trier or Treves, when he laid before his brothers a complete justification of all his acts during the time he had ruled in Prussia, and stated that the knights in Liefland and Prussia were constantly disobeying the laws of the Order and those reforms which he had attempted to introduce. The result was that Carl von Trier was acknowledged by the entire Order as their Grand Master. We have before stated that the Duke of Poland and his bishops had despatched an ambassador to Rome, under the ostensible pretext of complaining of the conduct of the knights. The main object, however,

was a desire of the Duke to obtain the rank of King of Poland, which would eventually enable him to lay claim to Pomerania. As soon as this became known, King John of Bohemia, son-in-law of Philip of France, who was then supporting the cause of King Louis of Bavaria against his rival Frederick of Austria, laid before the Pope his own claims to the crown of Poland.

It was at this juncture of affairs that Carl von Trier, with his usual sagacity, appealed to the King of Bohemia to assist him in the dispute of the Order with the Duke of Poland. That monarch was not unmindful of the assistance which the knights might render him, should he attempt to seize the crown of Poland by force of arms; and he induced the Pope to follow the example of his predecessor, in guaranteeing all the rights and privileges of the Teutonic Order, and placing it under the special protection of the successors of St. Peter. The Pope accordingly appointed the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Augsburg and Trent, the Archbishops of Cologne and Magdeburg, and the Bishops of Strasburg and Wurzburg to be the guardians and judges over the rights and privileges of the knights. The purchase of Dunamünde was also legalized; and so the troublesome dispute with the Archbishop of Riga was at last brought to a close.

The well-known venality of the Papal Court at Avignon renders it highly probable that the Pope

and many of his cardinals were gained over by bribes. Polish writers affirm that the Order raised a contribution of 30,000 marks for this purpose.

But now came a change in the Papal policy. On the 13th of September, 1319, the Pope ordered three prelates—the Primate of Poland, the Bishop of Posen, and the Abbot Nicolaus of the Benedictine monastery at Mogilno—to investigate the details of the complaint made by Duke Wladislaus against the Order; enjoining that should the latter be in the wrong they should at once deliver all the acquired territory to the Duke, and pay him for any loss of revenue which he had suffered during the occupation by the Order, The judges were also empowered to employ force should the Order decline to acquiesce in their decision.

This sudden change in the conduct of the Pope appears to have at first greatly perplexed the Order. It soon became apparent that it was nothing more nor less than a fresh attempt to levy black-mail on their treasury; for it could hardly be expected that the Polish bishops would decide in favour of the Order, as it would be a renunciation of their own claims for compensation for loss of revenue and privileges in Pomerania. It was therefore resolved to protract the investigation; and there was despatched one of the presbyters of the Church, whose sole authority was that of the Landmaster, and the three Comthurs of Dantzic, Mewe, and Swetz; for by thus sending such a representative, without

the authority of the Grand Master or his councillors, they believed that the judges would declare him unfit to take part in the proceedings. The Duke of Poland was represented by his Chancellor Philip and Councillor Sbischo von Syradien. The investigation took place on April 14, at New Leslau.

The commissioners declared that they could not acknowledge the evidence of the Landmaster's representative. The Polish ambassadors thereupon demanded that the Landmaster and the three Comthurs should be at once called upon to deliver over the acquired territory, and refund the revenues already derived from them.

The examination of witnesses then took place; and as neither the Grand Master nor Landmaster produced any, the Archbishop of Gnesen, as president of the commissioners, called upon the Order to send a proper representative to hear his decision; but the presbyter, Siegfried von Papau, and the rector, Frederick of Thorn, only appeared.

The president decided that the Order should at once deliver all the territory they had acquired in Pomerania, and pay as indemnification, on account of revenue received, the sum of 30,000 marks silver, and 150,000 marks of Prague groschens as compensation for the expenses incurred by the Poles in consequence of the litigation. The representatives of the knights stoutly denied the legality of this decision, and made a formal appeal against it, demanding that it should be referred to the Pope, which was done.

In 1320 Duke Wladislaus assumed the title of King of Poland; and the knights, to be prepared for all eventualities, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance for three years with Wladislaus, Duke of Vor-Pomerania, and Bishop Conrad of Camin. It was further determined to effect at once the capture of the important stronghold of Nakel, on the plea that it belonged to Pomerania, and not to Poland. They concluded also a friendly alliance with Duke Wenceslaus of Masovia.

The Pope at this juncture, at the request of Janislaus, Archbishop of Gnesen, and Gerward, Bishop of Leslau, sanctioned the collecting of Peter's pence in the bishoprics of Culm and Camin, although this right had been renounced when the two bishoprics had been placed under that of Riga. The Landmaster and the ecclesiastics of the province of Culm denied the authority of the Polish prelates, and stated that as they did not believe that the Pope was fully acquainted with their demands, they would appeal to him. The Polish primate thereupon ordered all the bishops of Prussia to proceed to the Landmaster and Comthur of Culm within three days, to inform them that unless they at once carried out their decision in the Polish and Pomeranian question within a certain fixed period, they were publicly to excommunicate the Landmaster and knights, and refuse them the rites of the Church.

The Bishop of Samland took upon himself to

answer this remarkable missive. He stated that it was impossible for his brother bishops to appear in the presence of the Grand Master and the principal Prussian officials within three days, as they were at that time assisting at a Grand Chapter in Germany, and that it would take the bishops at least eight days to proceed there; also that the Archbishop of Poland had no right to order the Prussian bishops to travel for eight days at their own expense. In conclusion, he denied the right of the archbishop to issue such an order, as the Grand Master had not only appealed to the Pontiff against the composition of the commission before it came together, but likewise against the decision, and that the territory of Pomerania had been acquired by a lawful purchase. The Grand Master was during this time doing his utmost to gain the good-will of the Pope and the cardinals by means of bribes and gifts. The King of Bohemia also did his utmost to support the Order, and re-guaranteed to it all the rights and privileges which the Order had previously enjoyed in Bohemia and Moravia under his predecessors.

By a series of concessions the Landmaster gained over to the Order all the bishops in Prussia, and the consequence was that the ecclesiastics and the knights were unremitting in their endeavours to increase the effective strength of their forces, and redoubled their efforts in developing the industry of the country.

The Lithuanian war being carried on in a desultory manner, principally by means of marauding parties, no perceptible progress was made towards the subjugation of the country. The Lithuanians, from being accustomed to feats of horsemanship from their boyhood, were particularly adapted to this kind of warfare, and the consequence was that, whenever the Order built a town, the work had to be executed under the protection of a considerable force of armed men. In fact it was thus that Memel was rebuilt. So inferior were the Lithuanians to their neighbours in civilization, that when some of them beheld the construction of a bridge across the Memel, their dismay and astonishment knew no bounds.

It is stated that a chamberlain of the ruler of Lithuania having been made prisoner at Balga, the knights, knowing the confidence which the king reposed in him, made overtures to the effect that on receipt of a large reward, together with his liberty, he should deliver to them the important fortress of Garthe. This the Lithuanian agreed to do, but on his return to his native country he informed his sovereign of the treacherous transaction, and the king collected his entire army in the vicinity of the fortress. The chamberlain then informed the knights that they could advance without danger, as there was no force in the neighbourhood. Fortunately for the Order, some prisoners informed them of this stratagem, which

probably saved their army from entire destruction. The knights now attempted to take the strongholds of Bisene and Sisdite, in which they were unsuccessful. This disaster was followed by another. A fleet, under the command of the Comthur of Ragnit, which accompanied the expedition, was totally destroyed by the Lithuanians. But a greater humiliation befell an expedition in 1314. The Order had besieged the town of Klein Naugard, which they captured; but the castle defied their efforts, and during the siege the Lithuanian commander of Garthe, David, surprised and captured their entire depôt of provisions and horses. This forced the knights to retreat, large numbers dying literally from starvation on the route.

These reverses naturally induced the Lithuanians to act on the offensive, and Witen at the head of a numerous army laid siege to Memel for seventeen days. During the blockade of the town they displayed a great amount of military knowledge, and all attempts of the knights to throw reinforcements into the town by means of the river completely failed. At one time the Lithuanians cleverly attempted to burn out the garrison. The Landmaster, having collected a well-disciplined force of 6,000 men, advanced to raise the siege of Memel, the Lithuanians thereupon burning all their war machines and retreating in perfect order.

The Landmaster pursued them, and as they had retired into the interior of their country for the

purpose of evading a pitched battle, he availed himself of their absence to destroy the suburbs of Junigeda; but being unable to follow up his success, he returned to Memel, where the works which had been destroyed by the Lithuanians were rebuilt and greatly strengthened.

In the year 1316 the Landmaster, having received a considerable reinforcement of Rhenish knights and their followers, again invaded and devastated the provinces of Pastov and Medenike. Liebenzell surprised and cut to pieces a considerable Lithuanian force which was intended to relieve the garrison of Bisene. By some fortunate chance a patrol of the Order passing near the fortress led the garrison to believe that it was the advanced guard of an army which had defeated their countrymen, and was now about to surround the place. Being without provisions they fled from their stronghold, which was forthwith burnt to the ground. But in 1317 the invaders were compelled to retire on account of a terrific storm, in the course of which nearly all the horses broke loose and the provisions were totally destroyed. The fear of a general inundation from the rise of the rivers created considerable disorder in their retreat. This check forced the knights to resume their old system of guerrilla tactics, and during the ensuing two years several of the suburbs of the Lithuanian towns were destroyed by them. This did not prevent the Lithuanian general, David, from advancing

as far as the district of Wohnsdorf. It is true he was afterwards compelled to retreat, but he inflicted immense damage on those districts through which he passed.

In the year 1320 the Grand Comthur, Heinrich von Plotzke, invaded Lithuania and suffered a crushing defeat. He and twenty-nine knights lost their lives; and the Governor of Samland, Heinrich Ruden, was burnt alive in his armour as a thank-offering to the gods.

In 1322 the Pope appears to have organized a fresh crusade against the Lithuanians. Among its leaders were Duke Bernhard of Silesia, Count Geroldseck of Suabia, and several other German nobles. The Landmaster, Von Wildenberg, having joined these with 150 knights and all their available retainers, invaded Wayken, in Samogitia. Here they destroyed the celebrated heathen grove and stronghold, and put the entire inhabitants of the district to the sword; following this up by the destruction of the renowned grove of the Romowe, in the district of Rossiena, and sparing no one. The Crusaders now advanced to capture the fastness of Bisten, which, although at first obstinately defended, was eventually surrendered by the garrison, who gave hostages as a pledge for their future fidelity. As soon, however, as the army had retired, the heathen chieftains forced their king Gedimin to resume hostilities. He accordingly invaded Liefland, and made the bishopric

of Dorpat the scene of the most frightful barbarities. Five thousand Christians are said to have been either killed or made captives in this particular raid.

In the year 1323 considerable reinforcements arrived from Bohemia and the Rhenish Provinces, under the leadership of the Knights Von Zinnenberg and Von Egerberg; but the cold was so intense that operations on a large scale could not be carried on. Such was the severity of the weather, that one could travel from Lubeck to Denmark on the ice.

This enabled the Lithuanians to carry on the war to a great advantage. They invaded the Danish colony of Reval, destroying everything before them. They surrounded and destroyed the town of Memel, where they obtained a considerable amount of provisions and merchandise, and a large number of boats and ships, which were frozen in, were fired. They also devastated Wehlau, and the provinces and districts of Dobrin and Masovia. In these two provinces, all the villages and towns which fell into their hands were burnt, and more than 10,000 persons are supposed to have lost their lives. The value of the property taken away by the Lithuanians was immense.

The most important loss to the Order was that of their arms and war machines. This dreadful inroad took place on the anniversary of Ascension Day, when all the principal officials were assembled

at Marienburg. During the entire campaign, as many as 20,000 people were either killed or taken captives by the pagans. In the same year the warlike king, Gedimin of Lithuania, addressed a letter to the Pope, stating his readiness, and that of his family, to embrace Christianity, and acknowledge the Pope's supremacy. He declared that his predecessor, Mindowe, and his household, had been baptized, but that through the treacherous conduct of the knights they had, in disgust, returned to the old faith. He further stated that the knights had done their utmost to prevent the introduction of Christianity into the country, and that it was solely with this object that the Order had persecuted the archbishop, who had promised to send them missionaries. He represented that the knights had killed certain Lithuanian deputies who had been despatched to the Papal Legate, although at the very moment several Minorite missionaries were residing in Lithuania, and were afforded every possible facility for preaching the Christian religion. Finally, the King solemnly declared that he was ready to do anything that the Pope might desire, but that no earthly inducement could influence him or his people to acknowledge the detested rule of the knights.

Similar letters to this were distributed amongst the Lithuanians, and the Prussians and Poles. The King also addressed letters to the principal Hanseatic towns, offering large grants of land to

those missionaries and priests who would take up their abode in Lithuania. To prove that he wished to introduce civilization into his country, he made similar offers to mechanics and agriculturists. The King stated that he had already built a church at Wilna, and one at Novgorod. These important documents bear date May the 26th, 1323. Gedimin appears to have written three letters: one to the Minorites, one to the Hanseatic towns, and one to the Mendicant Friars. He followed up these steps by despatching a Lithuanian embassy to the Pope, requesting him to send an adequate number of missionaries to carry out the pious task of converting the heathens in Lithuania and Liefland.

About the same time a deputation arrived at Rome from Riga with the news that the King had forwarded messages to the Prussian bishops, requesting their good offices to bring about peace with the Order. They also brought with them a copy of a treaty which had been concluded with the Archbishop of Riga and the King. This treaty was signed by the representatives of the archbishop at Wilna, on the Sunday after Michaelmas, 1323. The following were the co-signataries:—the Archbishop and Chapter of Riga, the Bishops of Oesel and Dorpat, the governor of the Danish colony, and governor of the military establishment of the Order in Mitau, John de Lowenbinke. The chief points were as follows:—Free intercourse between

the inhabitants and vassals of the two parties; exchange of prisoners; all captured districts to be restored to their original owners. These events created considerable alarm amongst the Order. Their representative at Rome was ordered to spare no expense in gaining over the Pope—an object in which he was successful; for the Pontiff declined to ratify the treaty until he received positive proof as to the truth of the accusations of the Lithuanians against the Order. Their next step was to assemble the three Bishops of Ermland, Samland, and Pomesania, and the priors of the cathedral at Elbing, who addressed a letter to all those who had been parties to the treaty with the King of Lithuania. In this document they stoutly denied all the accusations which the King had made against the Order, stating that the conclusion of such a treaty was admitting to their bosom a venomous serpent which would ultimately destroy not the Order alone, but the co-signataries as well; concluding by calling on the latter, in the name of all that was holy, to renounce the treaty and continue the war against the heathens, by doing which they would obtain everlasting happiness. It was only natural that the bishops should use such language, because they belonged to the Order; and, as we have before seen, were at this time on the most friendly terms with the knights, as the latter had made every possible concession to obtain their support in their disputes with the Poles and the Archbishop of Riga.

The letter of the bishops was supported by a missive from one of the heads of the Minorites in Prussia to the Pope, in which he affirmed that the charges brought forward by the King of Lithuania were without foundation, and that several members of the fraternity had been treated with the utmost indignity, after travelling into Lithuania for the purpose of converting its inhabitants.

As a consequence of these several letters, and of a representation from the Archbishop of Riga, who had proceeded to Rome, the Pontiff summoned the Grand Master to appear before him in the autumn of 1323.

Carl von Trier, who, since his departure from Prussia, had taken up his residence in his native town, proceeded to the Papal Court, accompanied by some of his most skilful advisers. The Pope granted him a private interview, which enabled the Grand Master not only to give his version of the Lithuanian and Polish difficulty, but also to describe the position which he then occupied towards the Order. The result of this meeting was that the Pontiff convoked a council of the cardinals. Here the Archbishop of Riga stated that the Order not only prevented the Mendicant Friars from preaching the Gospel to the heathens, but more, would give them no assistance in their own territory, and that the Prussians groaned under an incubus of taxation and every species of exaction.

Carl von Trier, who was justly celebrated for his

eloquence and his talents as a linguist, was able, through his thorough knowledge of the Italian language and his great oratorical powers, to partially counteract the damaging effects of the Archbishop's accusations against the Order. Hereupon the Pontiff held a private council with his cardinals, and shortly afterwards summoned the Archbishop and the Grand Master to appear in his presence. He then publicly decided that all the property which the knights had taken from the archbishop, and the bishops and ecclesiastics of Riga, should be at once restored; that whoever should either kill a wounded knight, or sympathize with such an act, should be excommunicated; and that no one should be prevented from proceeding to Rome. He ordered that the knights should pay proper respect to the priests, and do their utmost to assist in the erection of churches and other religious establishments; that they should be unremitting in aiding the preaching of Christianity by the Mendicant Friars; and that any person not acting in strict accordance with this injunction was to be at once excommunicated.

The Grand Master was then called upon, with his councillors, to swear that they and the members of the Teutonic Order would solemnly carry out the decision of the Pope. As to the Pomeranian dispute the Pope did not give any injunction. He also deferred doing so in the Lithuanian question, but to satisfy the envoys he stated that he would despatch a legate to inquire into the circumstances of the case.

As regards the claims of the bishops of Poland for the loss of revenue, the Pope decided that the Order should, in lieu thereof, place them in possession of districts whose revenue would equal that which the bishops had lost. As to the decision which had been arrived at by the Polish bishops, the Pope stated that a further inquiry was necessary for the purpose of ascertaining the validity of the appeal of the Order.

The mental anxieties which had so long burdened the mind of the Grand Master were now removed, and he had proved to the entire Order how unjustifiably they had behaved towards him.

Although in the prime of life, the extent of these anxieties now became apparent; for he was suddenly seized by great bodily weakness, and the once strong and determined man was conveyed like a child to his native town of Treves, where in a short time, to the grief of all, he died in the arms of those who had never forsaken him. Up to the last moment he busied himself with the affairs of the Order.

In the year 1324 considerable reinforcements arrived in Prussia from Alsace, the Rhineland, and Bohemia, but the weather was so mild that no campaign on a large scale could be carried out. Still the guerrilla bands, under the leadership of Prewilte, also called Mucke, spread terror and dismay to the heart of Lithuania.

Carl von Trier was succeeded in the Grand Master-

ship by Werner von Orseln in 1324. He had been Comthur of Ragnit in 1313, Marshal of the Order in 1322, next Grand Comthur, and was elected Grand Master on the 6th of July, 1324, at a Chapter held at Marienburg. The Grand Master, immediately after his election, set about erecting suitable fortifications around the open towns. These precautions were taken in consequence of the marriage of Casimir, only son of the King of Poland, with Aldona, daughter of the Lithuanian King Gedimin, the princess receiving the name of Anna on her embracing Christianity.

In 1325 the erection of Gerdauen was completed, so named in memory of the faithful Prussian chief Gerdune, and the castles of Wartenburg and Plut, the towns of Bischofswerder, Neumark, and Guttstadt were erected. Similarly in the year 1326 the castles of Junaburg, Bartenstein, and Gilgenburg were rebuilt. The erection of Kneiphof, one of the three towns which form Königsberg, was commenced in the year 1324, and in the year 1327 the Grand Master conferred upon it similar privileges to those of Culm.

The wars which were distracting Germany and Italy, principally between the Pope and Louis of Bavaria, placed the Order in a most embarrassing position. Pope John XXII., who sought to render himself supreme in Germany, had sided with the Guelphs and their allies, had summoned the Emperor Louis to appear before him at Avignon,

and, on that sovereign's refusal to obey, had placed him under the interdict. The German Order and a large part of the Austrian clergy remaining faithful to the Emperor, the knights knew but too well that the Pope would not fail to induce the Poles to attack them, as we have before seen that the latter had about this time gained the alliance of the Lithuanians. The critical position of the Order necessitated the calling together of a Grand Chapter in the year 1326, in which it was decided to support the Emperor Louis of Bavaria against the Pope, whose power had at this time been greatly increased by his reconciliation with Frederick, and the death of his bitter opponent, Leopold of Austria.

The Margrave Waldemar's death without successors enabled the Emperor Louis to obtain the sanction of the Diet at Nuremberg to the election of his son as Margrave. Louis himself was under great obligations to the Order, because it was through the intervention of the Comthur of Coblenz and the Counts of Bucheck, that the Kurfürsts were induced to reject the candidature of Charles, King of France. After the imperial policy had been settled, the Grand Master, at the instigation of the aristocratic element, proposed the following regulations, viz., that those of the Order who were ennobled should henceforward be called *Herr*, and that those who were of very old families should receive the appellation of *Herr Von*.

The brothers of plebeian extraction were considered inferior to the nobles, and it was enacted that this inferior class should not be eligible for any post of authority, sumptuary regulations being also issued respecting their clothing. These radical changes created great jealousy, and a large number of the best soldiers retired from the fraternity in disgust. The priests of the Order were called Masters of the Door, and they had the right of punishing any brother with penance if he did not keep his watch properly. Mendicant monks were allowed to wander through the country, and the brethren were compelled to support them. This was probably done for the purpose of increasing the piety of the Order and to gain over the Catholic clergy to their side, for the Pope was then doing his utmost to assist the Poles.

During the winter of 1326 and the spring of 1327, small bands of Poles were constantly violating the frontiers of the Order, and it appeared highly probable that, as soon as the Poles and Lithuanians had collected a sufficient force, they would invade Prussia. As a counter stroke to this the Grand Master ordered the Comthur of Culm, Otto von Luterberg, to cross the Drewenz, and, in conjunction with Duke Wenceslaus of Masovia, to invade Cujavia. Their approach being unexpected no resistance was encountered. They even advanced as far as the stronghold of Kowal, which they destroyed. Here they separated, plundering all the movable

property of the province. A regular division of this was made between the Masovians and the Order, after which they returned to their respective territories. This achievement resulted in a most determined and blood-thirsty war, which lasted for nearly two centuries, with little or no interruption.

The alliance of Lithuania with Poland was a permanent danger to the Order. Wladislaus was at that time unable to despatch an army into Prussia on account of the hostility of the King of Bohemia and the Dukes of Silesia. Poland, notwithstanding the extent of its territory, was by no means such a terrible enemy to encounter. The country was impoverished by the frequent invasions of the Lithuanians and the wars with the Bohemians, but more especially by its constant intestine feuds, and it required all the favour of the Pope to enable Wladislaus to resist the claims of the King of Bohemia. The nobility had little power of their own, but where they could assert it, as, for instance, over the serfs, they did so in a most despotic manner, unworthy of a civilized nation. There was no middle class; the laws were a dead letter, and every one acted as if none existed, as they were only enforced to the advantage of the superiors.

The clergy, however, ruled supreme, and to them can be traced almost all the evils which had befallen the country. Every word uttered by the Pope was considered as the word of God, and his commands were implicitly obeyed. The priests were careful

to retain their supremacy over this unenlightened people, it being naturally to their own interest to keep them in darkness. On account of the utter want of discipline and equipment the Polish army was no match for the army of the Order, although as regards numbers the Poles were vastly superior to the knights; and as in all probability they could not attempt to offer a pitched battle, but would invade the Order's territory in small bodies, the knights were obliged to content themselves with the defence of only a portion of their possessions until they should receive external assistance.

In the year 1328, having received considerable reinforcements from his son-in-law, King Charles of Hungary, King Wladislaus invaded Prussia in conjunction with a Lithuanian army. The Comthurs, not being prepared for open resistance, retired to their strongholds; and Wladislaus was able to destroy all the unprotected villages and towns as far as the Ossa. Here, fearing that his line of retreat might be cut off, he recrossed the Drewenz, and invaded the territory of Masovia.

The Comthur of Culm, having effected a junction with the Duke of Masovia, followed Wladislaus, who had retired into Cujavia; and a battle took place, in which the army of the King was completely routed. An armistice now seems to have been arranged between the Order and Poland until the Christmas of 1328. In the course of the year the knights formed an offensive and defensive alliance

with Heinrich of Breslau. They could also count upon the assistance of Louis, the Margrave of Brandenburg, of John, King of Bohemia, and his son Charles, Margrave of Moravia, and also of the Emperor Louis IV.

In the winter of 1328 King John of Bohemia, who had just returned from an expedition into Austria, undertook a crusade against the Samogitians, accompanied by his wife Elizabeth; and amongst the foreign knights who took service under him, we are told, were several of our own countrymen, headed by Count Thomas of Orford. The army of the Crusaders consisted of 250 knights, 300 picked cavalry, and 18,000 retainers, exclusive of a large body of infantry, and was accompanied by a large train of waggons, and a flotilla. The forces crossed the Memel at Ragnit, and advanced into Medenike as far as the castle of Medewageln.

On the 1st of February, 1329, the siege was commenced. The garrison bade defiance for several days; but the superiority of their opponents and their war machines at last forced them to surrender. Three thousand claimed the clemency of the conquerors; but the Grand Master, enraged at the loss of so many knights, ordered them to be put to the sword, a fate from which they were saved by the intervention of the King of Bohemia, the Samogitians by his advice embracing Christianity, and thus averting their doom. The greater part of Samogitia then appears to have acknowledged the

supremacy of the Order; but although the weather at this time was most severe, and the sight of the King of Bohemia had become impaired by the intense cold, so that he eventually lost the sight of one eye, yet his undaunted spirit remained faithful to his resolution of subjugating the whole of that country. Just, however, as the army was about commencing its onward march, news arrived that the King of Poland, at the head of 6,000 horsemen, was in the province of Culm, pillaging the country.

Duke Wenceslaus had, it appeared, joined the King, who, elated at this opportune assistance from Masovia, persuaded himself that he could now overcome his great rival, the King of Bohemia. The moment this intelligence reached the latter's camp, he determined to transfer the scene of war to Poland. He accordingly advanced by forced marches into the province of Dobrin, where he divided his army into two parts: one to plunder the country, the other to besiege the castle of Dobrin, which, after resisting for several weeks, capitulated. The mass of unfortunate inhabitants, to save themselves from starvation, acknowledged the King of Bohemia as their sovereign; and those who would not take the oath were expelled from the country.

Masovia was now invaded, and after the fall of Plotzk, the Duke was obliged to acknowledge the supremacy of the King. The Bohemian warrior

now proceeded to Thorn, where, as King of Poland and Bohemia, he and his wife and son solemnly made over the whole of Pomerania to the knights. On the 5th of April, 1329, he gave them half of the conquered territory of Dobrin, and half of that of Masovia, as indemnification for the losses they had experienced in the war with the King of Poland. He also entrusted them with the guardianship of the two territories, and undertook to repay them any sum they might expend in fortifying and defending the country.

Prior to this, on the 27th of February, they acquired a fresh accession of territory through the death of Wratislaus IV. of Vor-Pomerania, who left several sons under age, under the guardianship of Dukes Otho and Barnim of Stettin. Louis of Brandenburg, that is to say, the Emperor, for he was the *de facto* ruler, had now renewed his claims of suzerainty over Vor-Pomerania.

The Dukes, in order to enable them to equip a force to resist the Margrave, pledged to the Order the important town of Stolpe and its surrounding districts for 6,000 Lubeck marks of pure silver, stipulating that the territory was to belong to the knights if this sum was not paid within twelve years, when the knights had to pay the further sum of 4,000 marks, the guardians undertaking to obtain the sanction of their wards to this arrangement on their attaining their majority. Thus the Order in a very short time, either by purchase or mort-

gage, succeeded in acquiring a considerable portion of Vor-Pomerania, and its strategical and geographical position was of such a nature, that the further absorption of the entire country was only a question of time.

Hostilities were still going on in the south. The Comthur of Culm had again invaded Poland, and captured Mosberg. He now determined to destroy the piratical town and fortress of Wissegrod, situated between the junction of the Brzura with the Vistula, the inhabitants of which had been for years past the terror of the navigators of the river. It was not without very considerable loss that the town and castle were captured, the defenders being massacred and the castle reduced to ashes.

Another body of knights invaded the province of Dobrin, where all those who were suspected of loyalty to the King of Poland were expelled, and their estates seized. The knights then proceeded to besiege Brzesc, which they captured and pillaged. They next took the stronghold of Razians, belonging to the Bishop of Leslau, where they seized all the principal people as hostages. Alt-Leslau, the cathedral town, and all the villages in the see of Leslau, were subsequently plundered and burnt. The army of the Order now directed its march westward, and captured the important stronghold of Nakel, on the river Netze. As usual, the garrison was slaughtered, only one man, the captain,

escaping with his life. Such were the cruelties with which the Order carried on the campaign.

These successes of the knights forced the Dukes Semowit and Troyden of Masovia to conclude a truce with them to last until the month of August, but which was afterwards prolonged until Easter of the ensuing year, the Dukes undertaking to give no assistance to the King of Poland.

Here we must say a few words with respect to a question that arose concerning the internal or *domestic* affairs, so to speak, of the Order. The fate of his predecessors had proved to Werner von Orseln that the Grand Master could be forced to resign, should he become unpopular amongst the knights. He therefore resolved that the office and rights should be more fully and distinctly defined, a measure on which he had for some time past been engaged in obtaining the opinions of the principal knights of the Order. He therefore convoked a Grand Chapter at Marienburg, in the autumn. The Deutschmaster and the Master of Liefland were present. Here this important question was fully discussed, and a decision come to by which Werner von Orseln was assured that neither he nor his successors would have anything to fear from party spirit as long as they conscientiously performed the duties of Grand Master.

During the sitting of the Chapter, Liefland and Lithuania were again the scene of bloodshed. The Archbishop of Riga had once more come for-

ward as an opponent of the knights, who in retaliation caused his capital to be surrounded by their army.

In Lithuania the knights, assisted by fresh Crusaders, were occupied in pillaging expeditions, and at Culm the bishop was nearly expelled from his see by the inhabitants, on account of his attempting to collect Peter's pence. His sturdy subjects had for some time past been suffering from the pains and penalties of Papal excommunication, and the Grand Master believed that if he could induce the refractory populace to pay the Papal tax, the Pope might be inclined to assist him in his quarrel with the Archbishop of Riga. So great was his influence, and so highly was he respected, that he succeeded in inducing the inhabitants of Culm to pay the obnoxious impost, it being understood that they did so of their own free will, and not in acknowledgment of any former right of the Pope. On the Nuncio receiving the first instalment, the interdict was withdrawn.

In the spring of 1330 King John of Bohemia, being in want of funds, sold to the knights his share of the province of Dobrin for 4,800 score of Bohemian groschen, undertaking at the same time to obtain the remission of tithes by the Pope over any part of that province, and likewise asserting that he would not make peace with the King of Poland until the latter had acknowledged the Order's right of sovereignty over it.

In September, 1330, the Polish King, who had been reinforced by a contingent of 8,000 men from Hungary, arranged with the King of Lithuania to invade Prussia at two different points. Unfortunately the Grand Master, believing that the Lithuanians would first effect their junction with the Poles, and then cross the Drewenz, collected the greater part of his forces to oppose the passage.

We have before referred to the want of discipline amongst the Polish troops. The King of Poland had, however, enlisted a considerable number of German mercenaries, and with these for officers he hoped that in course of time his troops would be more equalized on this point to those of the Order. But he forgot that these men remained faithful only so long as they received their hire, and were not scrupulous about deserting from their colours if they could obtain a better paymaster. King Gedimin, being informed of the position of the army of the Order, advanced rapidly to Osterode, driving all before him, and was in the act of storming the town of Löbau, when he was suddenly attacked by a small but determined body of knights. Their onslaught was so furious that the King, believing they were the advanced guard of a large army, retreated; but the next day, finding he was not attacked, he pushed on to Kauernick, with the hope of finding the Polish army. In this he was unsuccessful, and fearing

either that the King had deceived him, or had been routed, destroyed the town and retreated to Lithuania.

The Poles first attempted the passage of the river in the vicinity of Strasburg, but the Grand Master and the two Masters were able to foil the Polish King's efforts. Wladislaus now proceeded to Leibitsch, in the territory of Dobrin, where he hoped to find a ford. Here he sent Count William, the commandant of the Hungarians, to Gedimin, requesting him to effect a junction. This the Lithuanian declined, on the plea that he believed the Polish King had wilfully disregarded the part assigned to him when he, Gedimin, had invaded Prussia.

The Hungarians now declared that they would return to their own country unless Wladislaus broke off his alliance with the King of Lithuania—a measure which was adopted. After repeated fruitless attempts to ford the river, the King of Poland effected it by the following stratagem. Leaving a body of six hundred cavalry behind to watch the river, he, with the main body, proceeded to the vicinity of Strasburg. After a certain lapse of time the six hundred cavalry were ordered by him to retire from the banks of the stream, as if covering the retreat of the main body to Poland. This they did, and the knights followed the main body on the opposite bank as far as Golub. The moment, however, that the Grand Master left the ford at Leibitsch,

the 600 horsemen, who had only retired a very short distance, crossed the ford, and, by lighting a large fire on a promontory, informed Wladislaus of the passage. The Polish King now retraced his steps with such rapidity, that he was able to cross the ford with his entire army before that of the Order could overtake him. The Grand Master, not wishing to risk the fate of his army in a pitched battle, retreated with the main body to Graudenz, ordering the remainder to reinforce their garrisons, and assist the people in carrying off their property to fortified towns and castles, while a considerable number of light cavalry were directed to hover round the enemy's line of march, and prevent it sending out foraging parties. Wladislaus, after his success, first proceeded to attack the town of Schönsee; but here the Comthur, having been reinforced by the people who had fled from the open country, made several such vigorous sorties, that the King of Poland considered it advisable to give up the attempt, and besiege the castle of Leipe. Want of provisions, however, and disunion amongst the leaders, rendered it impossible to continue the siege with any chance of success.

Wladislaus now opened negotiations for a peace. In an interview which took place between Werner von Orseln and the King a truce was concluded, and the settlement of all their disputes was referred to the arbitration of the King of Bohemia and the King of Hungary. The Poles retired to their own

territory, and the knights evacuated that part of Poland which they had gained during the campaign. Duke William and the Hungarians had been recalled at this time by King Charles of Hungary, on account of the reverses which the latter had met with in Wallachia at the hand of Michael Bazarad, governor of the country, who had surprised and surrounded the Hungarian army in a mountain pass. Bazarad after this became independent sovereign of Wallachia.

The town of Riga, which had now been besieged by the army of the knights for upwards of a year, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender. The conditions exacted were most severe, and from this time, to all intents and purposes, Riga became the capital and residence of the Landmaster. The archbishop had indeed appealed to the Pope, but before the Papal answer could arrive Riga had fallen.

This may be considered as the last act of importance which took place during the rule of Werner von Orseln, for he was assassinated by a knight named Johann von Endorf, on the 19th of November, 1330.

Johann von Endorf was a noble from the March, a wild, dissolute man, who had entered the Order, like many other fanatics, for the purpose of meeting death on the battle-field, in the belief that it would expiate his many sins whilst fighting against the infidels. He had often asked to be allowed

to take part in the expedition to Lithuania, but his request was always declined by the Grand Master, who was under the supposition that it was made only for the purpose of obtaining greater licence for his lawless deeds. The Grand Master, however, refused him, ostensibly on the ground that he could not provide him with a horse. Endorf communicated this to his relatives, who immediately sent him two horses ready equipped for the field. He thereupon renewed his demand, but again met with a decided refusal from the Grand Master, who stated that he must first prepare himself by leading a pious life before seeking his death in combat with the heathen. The Grand Master at the same time took from him his horses, on the ground that it was against the rules of the Order for a brother to have any personal property. This so enraged Endorf that he determined to take Werner's life on the first convenient opportunity, and on November 19, as the latter was leaving the chapel at Marienburg, where he had been praying alone, the assassin rushed at him, and inflicted a deadly wound with a large knife. The murderer was discovered, and thrown into prison to await the judgment of the new Grand Master. Werner von Orseln was no doubt deeply animated with a desire to increase the discipline of the Order, and under his rule the temporal power of the knights increased considerably. The Poles had been convinced by his conduct during the war that, unless disunion arose

amongst the knights or revolution broke out in Prussia, they could never expect to gain a footing there. The commerce and education of the Prussians had also been greatly promoted by the Grand Master, but there can be little doubt that he was greatly wanting in foresight as to the ulterior effect which his acts would have, and no one can deny that he was the originator of some of the evils which subsequently led to disputes between the Deutschmaster and the head of the Teutonic Order, and the formation of the confederation by which the power of the knights was so crippled, that Prussia lost her independence, and eventually became a fief of Poland.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1330—1352.

Election of Luther von Braunschweig (1330)—The Knights invade Poland and expel Casimir—Defeat of the Poles at Plowcze—Death of Luther (1335)—Dietrich von Altenburg elected Grand Master—Peace with Poland—Invasion of Lithuania—Peace Conference at Thorn—Treaty with Poland—Death of the Grand Master—Election of Ludolf König (1342)—Final Conclusion of Peace with Poland—Insurrection in Estland—Invasion of Liefland by Olgyerd — Resignation of Ludolf König (1345)—Election of Heinrich Dusmer—Visit of King Waldemar to Marienburg—Defeat of the Russians and Lithuanians at the river Strebe—Charles, Margrave of Moravia, becomes Emperor—State of Prussian Commerce—Resignation of Heinrich Dusmer (1351).

Werner von Orseln was succeeded by Luther, Duke of Brunswick, who entered the Order in 1297, and became a privy councillor during the rule of his predecessor. Immediately after his election, Luther requested the Pope to decide on the kind of punishment to be inflicted upon the assassin of Werner von Orseln. The Pope withdrew the act of excommunication which had been pro-

nounced on the prisoner by the Prussian ecclesiastical authorities, but condemned him to imprisonment for life, and to be kept on bread and water.

The Duke inaugurated his accession to power by the introduction of several new laws. He decreed that no administrators of justice should receive presents of any kind, under pain of immediate dismissal; further, that no brother of the Order should possess any personal property. For the better protection of the Grand Master, the Chapter decided that he should have a body-guard, and a knight was appointed to receive and introduce any one who wished to have a personal interview with him. This official was designated the Campan or Companion of the Grand Master, and Servatius, Duke of Henneberg, was the first to fill the post.

Through the internal weakness of Poland, Wladislaus was unable to resume hostilities with the knights, but he availed himself of some disputes which had arisen between the bishops and the Order to increase its difficulties, and instigated Pope John XXII. to place it under the ban for having interfered with the nomination of bishops. The decree of excommunication was enunciated from every pulpit in Poland, but, as few of the Prussian priests followed the example, the knights regarded it with indifference. The hostile attitude of the Papal Court produced a fresh difficulty, as the

Pope now claimed the exclusive right of appointing bishops to vacant sees.

The expiration of the truce with Poland was soon followed by a fresh war, which arose in the following manner. King Wladislaus, being doubtful of the fidelity of the Governor of Great Poland, Vincentius Zamotuli, replaced him by his son Casimir, a young man of talent and energy. Zamotuli thereupon sought the aid of the knights, who gave him a considerable force to expel his rival and reinstate himself. In this he was successful, and Casimir narrowly escaped being taken prisoner. The knights, taking advantage of the success of Zamotuli, now proceeded to pillage Cujavia. The Poles, having entrenched themselves around Tuschino, awaited the assault of the knights, who, with a force 3,000 strong, attacked them, but met with a repulse, due principally to the unfavourable weather, which interrupted further active operations.

In the following summer Luther sent a large army to Poland, under the command of the Marshal, Dietrich von Altenburg, and Otho von Lauterberg, Zamotuli accompanying them. We are told that the English Earl of Orford assisted the knights in this campaign with a troop of a hundred lancers. Thus reinforced the knights were successful, and, by their superior discipline, carried everything before them. Gnesen was plundered, and the inhabitants put to the sword,

and, though the priests were able to conceal the relics, they failed to save the plate and jewels.

It had been arranged with the King of Bohemia, who had returned from Italy, that he should join the knights before the walls of Kalisch. As soon, however, as the different marauding parties had assembled before that town, laden with an immense amount of plunder, the Grand Master commenced the siege without waiting for the King, who was then investing Posen. But now the news came that his royal ally had concluded a truce with Wladislaus, and was retiring into Moravia, and that the Polish King, at the head of all his available forces, was rapidly advancing to raise the siege of Kalisch.

Zamotuli, who was well acquainted with the country, offered to conduct the Marshal in such a way as to enable him to surprise the camp of the King of Poland; but the latter, having received information of this intention, hastily retreated, leaving the camp and his baggage trains behind. The Marshal then advanced against Radziejewo, which commanded the road to the interior of Prussia, and through which the entire commerce passed. A large treasure was known to be in the town, as all the customs' dues were here collected. Arrived in the vicinity, the Marshal took up a position with a part of his army at the village of Plowcze, the Land Comthur with the rest of the force marching northwards to capture Brisick.

Zamotuli, to whom appears to have been entrusted the duty of watching the movements of the King of Poland's army, was induced by Wladislaus, on promise of pardon, to betray the knights. Zamotuli informed the Marshal that there was no fear of attack on the part of the Poles, as the latter were not only inferior in numbers, but greatly demoralized. Unfortunately Von Altenburg believed the traitor, by whose management the King of Poland was enabled to approach close to the army of the knights on the morning of the 27th of September, favoured by a dense fog.

Such was the obscurity that the Poles themselves were unaware of the proximity of their foes, and their sudden appearance took them so much by surprise that they halted. The knights were thus enabled to hurriedly form into order of battle, the Marshal despatching at the same time messengers to the Land Comthur to come to his assistance. A terrible struggle now ensued. The Poles, led on by their king and their mercenaries, although constantly driven back, still renewed their assaults. Zamotuli with his men attacked the knights in the rear, and in a hand-to-hand fight which ensued—for the knights were surrounded on all sides—their standard-bearer fell, his horse being pierced by an arrow. A small number managed to cut their way through the ranks of their opponents, but the rest were either slaughtered or made prisoners, amongst these last being the Marshal and fifty-six knights, who on

being brought into the presence of the King were ordered to be first stripped of all their valuables and then executed, the Marshal alone being spared. Amongst those put to death were the Grand Comthur, Otto von Bonsdorf, the Comthur of Elbing, the Comthur of Dantzic, and several other officers.

The Poles, not fearing a renewal of the battle, retired to the village of Plowcze to celebrate their success by a drunken debauch. Otto von Luterberg, however, and Heinrich von Plauen, who had received information of the defeat of the Marshal, collected the remnants of the defeated army, and, with their own men, determined to surprise the enemy in the village; calculating that, although the latter were vastly superior as regards numbers, it would require considerable time before the King of Poland and his officers could form his troops into such order as would offer an effectual resistance. Heinrich von Plauen, after having proclaimed to his men the wholesale butchery which had been committed, called upon them to avenge their slaughtered brothers in arms. With a shout of deadly animosity they rushed into the village, and in a very short time the Polish army was turned into a flying rabble. The King of Poland managed to effect his escape in the confusion, and the Marshal regained his liberty. Brzesc having surrendered to the knights, Wladislaus was now forced to conclude an armistice for one year, by which the Order retained all its conquests. The Bishop of Cujavia, who had

greatly contributed to this war between Poland and the Order, was seized with such a fit of remorse, on hearing of the two deadly conflicts which had taken place at Plowcze, that he ordered those who had fallen in these engagements Christian burial. From a letter written by him to Luther, we learn that upwards of 4,000 were buried, and that he erected a chapel as an atonement for his past conduct. The death of Wladislaus, in 1333, left Poland in the hands of his son Casimir. His reign had been a series of disasters. He had lost to the King of Bohemia the sovereignty of Silesia, and a large part of his territory to the Order. He was successful in only one project, namely, the Lithuanian alliance. So great was his hatred towards the knights that his last words to his son were, "Rather bury yourself under the ruins of your country than suffer them to possess the territory they have invaded."

During his reign two sects gained considerable prominence in Poland, the Dulceans and the Fraticelli. The former advocated religious reform, and their leader was hanged and quartered and then burnt. The Fraticelli attacked all temporal and spiritual authority. To prevent the spread of these doctrines, the Inquisition was established in Poland, and lasted until the time of Sigismund I. In 1333 the town of Hohenstein was erected, and Luther, with the assistance of the Bishop of Samland, founded the cathedral of Königsberg in commemoration of the victory at Plowcze.

In 1334 the Grand Master made an arrangement with the Comthur of the Knights of St. John, who resided at Schöneck, in Pomerania, by which the Comthur guaranteed to the Order all the territory which had formerly belonged to that of St. John, but now in the possession of the knights. From the conclusion of the war, and up to his death in April, 1335, Luther busied himself with the introduction of reforms and the development of the internal resources of the country, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory condition of his relations with Poland.

In April, 1335, he repaired to Königsberg, where, finding his end approaching, he had a vault constructed for his remains, and directed that a light should be kept constantly burning after his demise and prayers offered up for the safety of his soul. On his death-bed he richly endowed the cathedral of Königsberg. During his rule the affairs of the Order required great tact and diplomacy, on account of the constant struggles between the Pope and the Emperor, through whose instrumentality alone they could expect to obtain reinforcements. Luther was succeeded by Dietrich von Altenburg, who had been Comthur of Ragnit, afterwards Comthur of Balga, and subsequently Marshal of the Order. On his election he was eighty years of age. He at once entered into negotiations to bring about a permanent peace, offering, moreover, to give up to Casimir the fortresses of Brzesc and Dobrin. The conditions

of peace were to be settled by King Charles of Hungary and John of Bohemia. Their decision was given in 1335, according to which the Order was to give up Cujavia and Dobrin to King Casimir, but to receive Pomerellen in exchange. Casimir accepted the decision, but the Poles, who accused King Charles of having been influenced by the King of Bohemia, and of having acted unfairly towards them, protested against the cession of Pomerellen.

The Margrave Charles of Moravia renounced any claims on Pomerellen in favour of the knights, and the King of Bohemia entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with them. In the mean time the two envoys of the Pope, Galchardus and Peter Gervasi, arrived in Poland and proceeded to Warsaw, where they summoned the Grand Master and his principal advisers to appear before them. The Grand Master despatched an envoy protesting against the proceedings of the Pope, but notwithstanding this protest the Legates placed the Order under an interdict, until the districts of Pomerellen, Michelau, Dobrin, and Cujavia, were ceded to Poland. The knights were moreover condemned to pay heavy damages. Dietrich, knowing that he could count on the assistance of the Emperor, took no notice of all this, and allowed the Papal envoys and the Polish priests to pronounce their excommunication as often as they pleased. The Poles, finding that this kind of spiritual warfare proved

ineffectual, at last agreed to abide by the decision of the arbitrators.

In 1336 the Order, being joined by the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Count of Nemur, and many German nobles, undertook an expedition against Pullen, a stronghold of the Lithuanians. This fortress was exceptionally strong, being surrounded by a ditch 26 feet deep and 50 feet wide. The investment was commenced by filling up the ditch with wood and earth. During this labour the knights suffered severely from the archers of the garrison, and were several times driven back in attempting to storm the works. On one of these occasions Werner von Randorf came up with a body of archers to their assistance. He divided amongst them 600 fire-arrows, at the end of each of which there was a sort of hook, bound round with a piece of hemp saturated with pitch. Before discharging the arrows the hemp was ignited, and in this manner the fortress, which was mainly built of wood, was fired in all directions. The garrison, in a paroxysm of fury and despair, strangled their wives and children, and then, turning their swords on one another, a scene of mutual slaughter ensued. During this tragic act the knights entered the fort, in which they found only two or three Lithuanians still alive, who perished, sword in hand, rather than surrender. At the commencement of the siege the castle contained 4,000 men. To protect Marienburg the Order erected a castle,

which was not completed until the following year.

In 1337 fresh Crusaders arrived in Prussia, under the command of King John of Bohemia, Duke Henry of Bavaria, the Duke of Burgundy, and other nobles. They fortified the castle of Bayern, a place destined to become the capital of the neighbouring part of Lithuania when subjugated, and likewise the seat of an archbishopric. In the year 1338 this castle was nearly lost through the treachery of two baptized Prussians, brothers named Witting. One of them deserted to the Lithuanians, with whom he arranged to appear before the castle at an appointed time, undertaking that his brother would then open the gates to them. The traitor within, however, being betrayed to the knights, was arrested and put to death, and his corpse suspended from the walls. The Lithuanians, enraged at their disappointment, killed the other brother, and continued the siege for twenty-two days. Meanwhile the Grand Master arrived with a reinforcement, and the knights made a simultaneous attack on the besiegers, who were completely defeated. The Marshal of the Order pursued them as far as the territory of Medenike, where the Lithuanians seem to have had their depôt of provisions and a large quantity of booty, all which became the spoil of the victors. The Germans now, in defiance of the orders of the Marshal and their superiors, dispersed to pillage. During the confusion a force of Lithuanians and Samogitians

attempted to surround them, but, encouraged by the Marshal and their officers, the soldiers joined their standards, and, led on by their gallant commanders, not only cut their way through their foes, but inflicted on them a severe defeat, the Marshal being enabled to carry away in safety the whole of the booty. It appears that in this engagement the knights used a species of cannon, which discharged a shot about the size of a man's head. These guns were placed in rear of the line of men, who opened to the right and left when the pieces were discharged. We are told that the Lithuanians were so alarmed by the explosion and destruction caused by the shot, that, attributing it to Perkunas, their god of thunder, they fled precipitately. No sooner did the Marshal arrive in Prussia than he was ordered at once to march to Liefland, for the purpose of quelling an insurrection which had broken out amongst the peasants. This he did with the most determined severity, and it is stated that upwards of 12,000 persons were slaughtered before the revolt was put down.

The Grand Master about this time was continually engaged in erecting new fortifications in Prussia and strengthening others. In 1340 he fortified the town of Swetz, enlarged the castle of Marienburg, and erected there a magnificent crypt for the burial of the Grand Masters; he also built the bridge over the Nogat. He was the first to establish trade guilds and corporations, and he

also granted to a citizen of Thorn, named Bernhard Schilling, the privilege of striking Prussian coins, as both Bohemian and Polish coinage were much debased.

We have before stated that the Poles had expressed their willingness to abide by the decision of King Charles of Hungary. The Pope seems also to have come to the same conclusion, for he withdrew the interdict under which the German Order had been placed, and a general peace conference was proposed, which met at Thorn in the year 1341. To this the Kings of Poland, Hungary, and Bohemia sent their envoys, and the Margrave Charles of Moravia, son of King John of Bohemia, attended in person. The Grand Master, who had arrived at Thorn, was now taken seriously ill, and his advisers, seeing that his end was rapidly approaching, hurried to the Margrave Charles, who immediately on the receipt of the mournful tidings hastened to the apartments of the Grand Master. The dying warrior-monk ordered his attendants to raise him from his bed, and enrobe him with the Grand Master's cloak. He then thanked the Margrave for his great kindness to the Order, and especially for the generous conduct of his father, King John.

After several hours' conversation with reference to the affairs of the Order, the Grand Master sank back on his bed exhausted, and peacefully expired a few hours later, towards the end of the year 1341.

His toleration towards sectarians, and the sturdy indifference with which he regarded the virulent attacks of the priesthood, prove that he fully understood the policy of the Papal Court.

Dietrich was succeeded by Ludolf König von Weizau, a Saxon by birth, who had been raised to the dignity of Grand Comthur, which high post he held until his elevation in January, 1342.

Ludolf König inaugurated his rule by erecting the castle of Insterburg, and by reconfirming all the privileges of the cloister of Oliva. He then proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of Dantzic and the principal strongholds.

In the year 1342 Pope Clement VI. confirmed the decision of the arbitrators, by which the Order was to surrender Cujavia and Dobrin to Poland, with the exception of those towns which it had possessed before the war, and moreover to pay to Poland 10,000 gold-gulden for damages. King Casimir, who was, from his frequent excesses, incapable of great activity, and who was then engaged in a war with the Russians and Tartars, was only too glad to conclude peace on the above terms. Probably the chief reason was that Casimir, having no male heir, was anxious to obtain the recognition of a successor. His choice fell upon Lewis of Hungary, but the Order, to prevent the prospective increase of the power of Poland, secretly instigated the King of Bohemia to renew his claim to the Polish crown. To obtain the support of the

Order for his proposed successor, Casimir renounced at Kalisch his right to the Culm territory, including the towns of Orlau, Nessau, Michelau, and the district of Pomerellen. He also took a solemn oath that he would not bear the title or coat of arms of Pomerellen, and guaranteed that the King of Hungary should not regain possession of the above-named districts. In order to give greater validity to the transaction, the Polish bishops were to be present at the transfer of the territories to the Order, and the laity had to stipulate not to assist in any endeavour which might be made on the part of King Lewis or his successors to recover the provinces. On completion of the transfer the knights handed over Cujavia, Dobrin, and Bromberg to the King; and the Bishop of Culm and his Chapter, on their part, renounced all further claims to compensation for the losses which they had experienced at the hands of the Poles.

The distrust of the Order which had always existed in the Polish nation induced the King of Poland to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with the Pomeranian Duke Boguslaus (to whom he gave his daughter in marriage), to the effect that they should assist each other against their mutual enemies with 400 cavalry, the German Order being specially mentioned.

The constant wars which had been going on had produced great poverty and mortality amongst the poorer classes of Prussia, and, notwithstanding the

exertions of the authorities, a terrible plague broke out and devastated the greater part of the country. The knights, always ready to increase their territory, finding there was no immediate chance of conquest in the direction of Poland, now sought a new field of spoliation, and a favourable opportunity soon offered itself. Towards the east of their territory dwelt the Estlanders, who differed in some respects from their neighbours the Lithuanians.

We have already seen that, about the middle of the thirteenth century, Estland was conquered by the Danish King, who was represented by a vice-roy or governor up to the year 1329, when Christopher II. ceded it to Canute as an hereditary dukedom. This duchy shortly afterwards passed into the hands of the Danish Crown Prince, who bestowed it on Louis, the Margrave of Brandenburg, in 1333, as the dowry of his sister Margaret. The prince transferred Estland to the Margrave unconditionally, which caused a violent opposition on the part of the nobles and people of the province, as the Danish Crown had guaranteed that Estland should never form a part of the German Empire.

In revenge for the unfaithfulness of the King of Denmark, the Estlanders sought the assistance of the Knights of Liefland. German writers affirm that they were driven to this by the cruel exactions of the Danish officials who ruled in the name of the Margrave. At first the Grand Master, Ludolf

König, expressed his willingness to side with the Estlanders; but, this coming to the ears of the Emperor Louis, he warned the Grand Master not to interfere except at the request of Waldemar of Denmark and the Margrave of Brandenburg, but that if the knights wished to obtain possession of Estland, they were to address themselves to him, as it now formed a part of the German Empire. The Grand Master, knowing the grasping disposition of the Emperor, consequently broke off his relations with the Estlanders. The latter now appealed to Waldemar to annul the contract with the Margrave, but he declined, and reconfirmed the former gift of Estland by his brother to the Margrave, who then received permission from the Emperor to sell it to the Order.

In 1341 Estland, together with Reval, Wesenburg, and Narva, was transferred to the Order for the sum of 13,000 marks, which was received by the Margrave as the dowry of his wife. The unfortunate country now became the scene of the greatest confusion and disorder, as there was no means of obtaining justice in the absence of a responsible ruler, the death of the Grand Master, Dietrich, and Eberhard, Master of Liefland, having prevented the Order from sending a sufficient force to take possession of Estland. The consequence was that when the new Master of Liefland, Burchard, assumed the reins of government, he found himself entangled in a war with the Russian

Prince Wsewolodowitsh, and this, coupled with the imminent danger of hostilities with the warlike Lithuanian Prince Olgyerd, prevented his paying any attention to the affairs of the recently acquired territory.

On the death of Gedimin, his dominions were divided between his sons. The eldest, Jawnut, received Wilna and its districts; the second son, Olgyerd, had for his share the province of Vitepsk; and the third son, Kynstutte, received Samogitia. Olgyerd, unlike most Lithuanians, detested all kinds of drunkenness and immorality, and his high character, conjoined with extraordinary talents and activity, soon made him the leading prince in Lithuania. Second to him was his younger brother Kynstutte, as regards courage and military capacity. The two brothers first attempted to increase their territory towards the east by invading Russia, an expedition attended by complete success. They now directed their attention to Liefland, and the ostensible pretext for the invasion of that territory was the unjustifiable execution of Ljubko, nephew of Gedimin, by the knights.

In April, 1343, the knights defeated the Russians and proceeded to besiege the fortress of Isbosk, but they were compelled to return in all haste in consequence of a serious popular outbreak in Estland. We have before stated that the unfortunate people were the prey of every species of misgovernment, especially the lower orders. The rising seems to

have taken place on the *fête* of St. George, and it is said that during the night upwards of 1,800 Germans were massacred. All men, women, and children were ruthlessly slaughtered who spoke the German or Danish dialects. The inhabitants of Oesel, and the inmates of the knights' establishment on the island, were killed, and 10,000 peasants appeared before Reval. The Danish knights and nobles, who had taken refuge in the fortress, sent messengers to the Landmaster, who had now arrived on the frontiers, to come to their assistance. This he did, defeating and almost exterminating the insurgents in a short and bloody engagement.

The Danes now, according to the previous arrangement with the Landmaster, delivered over to him the castles of Reval and Wesenburg, together with the whole district, on condition that it should be surrendered to the King of Denmark at a month's notice. It was further stipulated that the Order should be reimbursed for any expenses incurred in protecting and ruling the country. The clergy on their part undertook to vindicate the knights in this transaction, by affirming that the Landmaster had only entered the country and assumed the defence of it at their special request. They also bound themselves at the same time to give every kind of assistance to the Order in carrying out this object. The knights, having received a reinforcement of 700 men from Prussia, proceeded in the most

merciless manner to root out the rebellion in Estland.

It was at this time that the Lithuanian Prince Olgyerd invaded Liefland; but his victorious career was checked, and his return necessitated, by the invasion of his own territory by the King of Bohemia, who had collected a goodly number of warlike spirits from Holland, Bohemia, Moravia, and Hungary. At the head of the Dutch was Count William IV. of Holland, who had not long before returned from a visit to the Holy Sepulchre. It is curious to note that the German and Bohemian knights preferred to wage war with the Lithuanians rather than against the Turks, who then threatened the Byzantine Empire, although the Pope, who was a mere creature of the King of France, was doing his utmost to collect an army of Crusaders for protecting the Christian dominions in the East. Amongst the Crusaders was also the young King Lewis of Hungary, afterwards called the Great, who no doubt wished to cement the bonds of friendship between himself and the knights, the assistance of whom he might require, should the King of Bohemia attempt to dispute his accession to the crown of Poland. The two kings had under them 200 knights, and the point of attack appears to have been Wilna.

The Grand Master and his allies entered Lithuania on its southern frontier, and captured a castle which commanded the road to the capital; but here

they were informed that the Lithuanians had invaded Samland, and were committing sad havoc among the unfortunate inhabitants. It was at once determined to return to Samland, but, before they could reach the scene of the disaster, the Lithuanians had withdrawn, and had advanced, as we have before seen, into Liefland. The King of Bohemia proposed that the enemy's forces should be followed, and thus save that province.

The Grand Master, however, opposed this plan, substituting the immediate invasion of Lithuania, which he believed would force Olgyerd to retreat from Liefland. In this opinion he was correct. In the commencement of the year 1344 the Grand Master entered the country, but the inhabitants, having received timely warning, had fled with all their portable property into the interior.

This, coupled with the mild state of the weather, brought the campaign to an end, and all that had been effected was the destruction of several deserted villages. Great discontent now manifested itself, not only among the knights in Prussia, but also among the foreign Crusaders, and the Kings of Bohemia and Hungary left the country in disgust.

The idea that he had been the cause of all the reverses that had happened in Liefland and Prussia had such an effect on the Grand Master's mind that he began to suffer from temporary attacks of insanity. Finding that he was no longer able to

conduct the affairs of his office, from impaired health, he entrusted the discharge of his duties to the Marshal, Henry Dusmer.

During this interval a body of Lithuanian horse, under the command of the Princes Olgyerd and Kynstutte, made a rapid advance into Prussia as far as the town of Rastenburg, which they destroyed, and were able to retire to their own country, carrying with them herds of cattle and many horses and captives. Flushed with their success, the Lithuanian princes now advanced against the Russians, for the purpose of destroying the town and inhabitants of Novgorod, in revenge, as we are told, for its inhabitants having called Olgyerd a dog.

In December, 1345, a Grand Chapter was held at Marienburg. Here Ludolf König formally resigned his office and retired to Engelsberg as Comthur, where he died in 1348. The Chapter elected as his successor Heinrich Dusmer von Arffberg. Some writers affirm that he was of Pomeranian, others of Suabian origin. There can be little doubt that the knights could not have chosen a more fit and proper person, for the warlike rulers of Lithuania gave a fair promise of a long and arduous campaign, which in all probability would lead to the renewal of the alliance between Lithuania and Poland; for Olgyerd was now supreme in Lithuania, as he had expelled from the country his eldest brother, who had taken refuge at Smolensk, and had forced his younger

brother, Narimant, to seek protection at the Court of the Khan of the Tartars.

The first step of the Grand Master was the erection of a stronghold named Johannisberg, on the south frontier of Sudauen, the point at which the Lithuanians entered the country when they advanced on Rastenburg. During the winter of 1345 the Grand Master made two inroads into Lithuania, in both of which he was successful. In order to obtain partisans in that country he exerted himself in inducing those who were discontented with the rule of the two Lithuanian princes to settle in Prussia, the descendants of the faithful Withings also receiving grants of land in all parts of the newly-acquired territory of the knights.

The internal affairs of Prussia prospered greatly under the new Grand Master, the manufacture of woollen goods having greatly increased on account of the Russian and Polish markets. A considerable number of sheep of the best breeds was imported into Prussia by his directions, and in a very short time it was not uncommon for land proprietors to possess flocks of from six to seven hundred. Through the efforts of Bishop Berthold of Pomesania the cathedral of Marienwerder had become one of the finest edifices in Prussia. Its external beauty was the theme of admiration of all those who had visited the city.

In the beginning of the year 1346, King Waldemar appears to have visited Prussia and

Estland, for the purpose of finally settling the affairs of the latter unfortunate province. He was at this time greatly in want of funds, for it would seem that he had never received the purchase-money from the knights, and it was impossible to effect its sale unless he obtained the sanction of the relatives of the deceased Canute and the Margrave of Brandenburg. After having done his best to conciliate the Estlanders, he repaired to Denmark, and there obtained permission for the sale of Estland from the sons of Canute, by giving to them the Duchy of Holbeck. The King then returned to Marienburg, and there informed the Grand Master that his brother Otho wished to enter the Order, and, as the province of Estland belonged to him, he was ready to sell it for the sum of 19,000 marks. The purchase was ratified on the 9th of August, and in September the Margrave of Brandenburg consented to forego his rights to the province on receipt of 6,000 marks silver. The purchase of Estland, on the part of the knights, was then solemnly approved by the Emperor and the Pope, and the province was handed over to the Order.

In 1347 Olgyerd and Kynstutte again invaded Prussia. So rapid were their movements that the knights appear to have been quite unprepared to meet them. After having inflicted immense damage, and obtained a large amount of booty, they retired with the same celerity to Lithuania as they had advanced. Shortly afterwards they made another

successful inroad into Samland. It now became apparent to the knights and the Grand Master that, unless the power of the Lithuanians was completely broken, their horsemen would become the terror of all those who lived in the open country, and that agriculture and commerce would come to a standstill. A Chapter was accordingly summoned to meet at Marienburg in the month of June, to devise the best means of carrying out the Grand Master's project. Here it was unanimously decided that a general appeal should be made for the organization of a grand crusade throughout Europe to subjugate the Lithuanians. It was also decided that Estland should be handed over to the Knights of Liefland for the sum of 20,000 marks silver, but that the Grand Master could claim it at any time on the repayment of the above sum.

In October, 1347, the restless Grand Duke of Lithuania again made Prussia the scene of his barbarities. He overran the districts of Ragnit and Insterburg, reduced Wehlau to ashes, totally defeated the Comthur, Werner von Holland, and then returned to his own country laden with booty.

In the commencement of the year 1348 a motley assemblage of the fighting classes in Europe assembled in Prussia, amongst them Count Thomas of Orford, who had seventeen years before rendered such good services to the Order. That he must have brought no inconsiderable contingent is mani-

fest from the prominence which the old chroniclers give to his reappearance. The numbers of the supporters of the doctrine of forcible conversion are stated, including the Teutonic Knights, to have amounted to 40,000 men, being one of the largest and best equipped armies that had ever appeared in Prussia. The Grand Master assumed the supreme command, being accompanied by all his principal officers; but on reaching Insterburg he relinquished it in favour of the Marshal, and assumed that of the reserve, which was to remain on the frontiers of Lithuania for the purpose of checking any advance of the Lithuanians into the country.

On the 26th of January, 1348, the frontier was crossed towards the south of Kauen, and the army advanced slowly in the direction of the capital; for orders had been given to turn the surrounding country into a wilderness, and here, under the flag of the Virgin Mary, were committed such deeds of bloodshed as would make an honest Christian of the present day stand aghast with horror. On the eighth day the Marshal was informed that Olgyerd was advancing at the head of a superior force, with the determination of bringing about a pitched battle. The Lithuanian prince, who had heard of the intended invasion, had not only concluded a peace with the Russians, but had induced them to support him against the Order. The Marshal, fearing a surprise, retraced his steps, and took up a most advantageous position in the

vicinity of the river Strebe, a tributary of the Memel.

In order to attack the knights the Lithuanian army had to cross over the ice, and then form in order of battle. The engagement commenced on the 2nd of February. The numerical superiority of the Lithuanians enabled them to carry all before them; but the death of many of the bravest leaders of the Crusaders had the effect of reanimating their surviving comrades with the thirst of revenge, and for some time the opposing masses resembled the contention of two mighty streams when effecting their junction. At last the bravery and desperation of the knights forced their opponents to turn and fly. All now was confusion and slaughter; the ice, which was thin, soon gave way, and the stream itself became nearly choked with the dead and dying Lithuanians and Russians, who lost upwards of 18,000 men, amongst them many of their chief nobles. The knights' victory was dearly bought. Four thousand of their best followers strewed the field of battle, together with fifty knights.

The Marshal, not considering it prudent to resume the offensive, returned with his army to Königsberg; and we are told that the Grand Master having vowed to the Virgin Mary that he would build a cloister to her honour, should he be successful, the building was at once commenced and richly endowed. A cloister was also erected at Wehlau for the Minorites.

No respite was granted to the Lithuanians during this year, and Samogitia and the adjacent country were the scenes of bloodshed and rapine. Seldom had more success crowned the arms of the knights than during this year. As regards external affairs they were equally fortunate, for their supporter and patron, the Emperor Louis, who died in November, was succeeded by Charles IV., son of King John of Bohemia, who had accompanied his father in his campaigns against the Lithuanians. Shortly after his accession he not only ratified the former rights and privileges of the knights, but likewise granted them fresh ones, particularly in his own dominions.

In fact, it would seem that the Order now possessed only two opponents, Pope Clement and the Lithuanians; for the Poles, it appears, had now become reconciled to the increased ascendency of Prussia.

As an evidence of reconciliation, Casimir, at the request of the Grand Master, gave them the choice of several commercial routes through his entire dominions for the free passage of Prussian traders. This opened Bohemia, Hungary, and Russia to the Prussian and Polish trade, of which Thorn became the centre, and here the manufacture of cloth and other textile fabrics was constantly increasing. Dantzic and Königsberg also now became important emporiums of the Baltic trade.

In the year 1350 Prussia was visited by a dread-

ful plague, which carried off an incredible number of persons. This visitation, however, was universal throughout Europe. The pest, which had lasted five years in Prussia, had produced terror and confusion in all the towns and villages, and every man who had sufficient funds left the country. The Papal Jubilee, which was hitherto celebrated once in a century, now took place every fifty years, for the purpose of replenishing the treasury of the Holy See. Every person who went to Rome or died on his journey thither was at once absolved from all his sins. The consequence was that, instead of devout people proceeding to Prussia to obtain absolution, they now went to Rome, as such a journey was far less dangerous than fighting with the Lithuanians, and a large number of the wealthier classes in Prussia followed their example, as they believed a curse had come over the country. Luckily for the Order, the Lithuanians did not attempt to recommence hostilities.

In 1350 the Grand Master enacted that every layman or priest in Estland, possessing a hundred hides of land, should have always in readiness for active service one well-equipped German and two native retainers, and they were bound to take part once a year in a campaign in Liefland or against the Lithuanians. All able-bodied men residing between the Duna and Narva were liable to be called under arms at any moment to oppose the common enemy, whether heathens or Chris-

tians. After passing the Duna their maintenance devolved on the Order, who recompensed them for any loss they might sustain during the time they were on active service.

Heinrich Dusmer, having reached an advanced age, now found himself incapable of discharging the active duties of his office, in consequence of increasing infirmity. He accordingly summoned a Grand Chapter, in September of 1350, and offered to resign the Grand Mastership, at the same time expressing a wish to end his days in some cloister belonging to the Order. His resignation being accepted, Dusmer retired to a quiet spot on the river Drewenz, where he spent the remainder of his days in tranquillity.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1351—1382.

Accession of Winrich von Kniprode (1351)—Unsuccessful Invasion of Lithuania—Invasion of Poland by Lithuanians and Tartars—Capture and Escape of Kynstutte—Capture of Kauen (1362)—Widat embraces Christianity—Interview between Casimir and the Grand Master—Truce with Lithuania—Kynstutte invades Prussia—Armistice for Four Years (1371)—Mediation of the Grand Master between Lubeck and Waldemar—Violent Altercation between the Grand Master and the Bishop of Ermland—Flight of the Bishop—Occupation of Ermland by the Knights—Concessions to the Monastic Orders—Development of Foreign Trade—Mercenaries first Engaged by the Knights (1376)—Death of Olgyerd—Peace with Lithuania—Revolt of the Samogitians—Death of the Grand Master (1382).

On the resignation of Heinrich Dusmer, the Chapter unanimously elected the Grand Comthur, Winrich von Kniprode, one of the most able and talented of the Order, as Grand Master. The pest* had reduced Prussia to a most woful con-

* The pest had carried off in 1352, in Dantzic, Thorn, Elbing, and Königsberg alone, as many as 17,460 people. In addition, the knights lost 117 brothers and 3,012 retainers.

dition, and it therefore became necessary to invite fresh settlers, which could be only accomplished by recommencing the raids into Lithuania. This, it was thought, would bring into the country wealthy Crusaders and colonists, as it was generally reported that the crusade meant nothing more nor less than the acquisition of a large territory, which would be given to those who would come and settle on it. Moreover, it was represented that the Lithuanian prisoners could be employed in tilling the soil, and that their herds of cattle and horses would replace those which had been destroyed in Prussia during the pest. To carry out this crusade, it was necessary to have the assistance of the bishops. These, being fully acquainted with the necessities of the Order, demanded an increase of their temporal power in return for their co-operation, and the Grand Master seems to have been able to obtain the desired assistance by means of promises and fair words.

To prevent the possibility of the Lithuanians invading Prussia, the old system of guerrilla warfare was renewed on a far larger scale, which was kept up with consummate skill during the life of the Grand Master.

Up to this time it is stated that no fewer than 50,000 men belonging to the Order had perished in attempting to subjugate Lithuania. This number does not include the unfortunate prisoners who generally were forced to accompany the army of

the knights for the performance of menial duties. These poor creatures were generally left to their fate in case of defeat or disaster.

About this time a terrible storm broke over the whole of Prussia, sweeping away villages and damaging all the most prominent churches. The entire coast was strewed with wrecks, and in the harbour of Dantzic alone thirty-seven ships were stranded.

The Lithuanian princes, who, through the tactics of the Grand Master, had been unable to invade Prussia, had now collected a sufficient army for that purpose. The Grand Master, having received secret information, advanced with a large force into their country, but from a sudden thaw he was compelled to retire. Most of the rivers being greatly swollen, many of his troops perished, either by the breaking of the ice or in endeavouring to ford the rivers. This disaster naturally aroused a fresh spirit amongst the Lithuanians, and in a very short time their princes were enabled to invade Prussia with four armies. One was totally destroyed by Marshal Heinrich Schindekopf, but the other three were successful in their operations, and returned unmolested to their country.

In the year 1353 they again advanced into the districts of Rössel and Rastenburg, where they inflicted great damage on the inhabitants. On their return they were overtaken by the Vogt Frederick of Obart and Comthur Heinrich von

Kranichfeld, who defeated them, but the two leaders lost their lives in the pursuit. The Lithuanians believing that the Order would follow up their victory, and finding themselves hampered in their flight by the 1,500 prisoners whom they had with them, put them all to death. Such was the ruthlessness with which, as we have often seen, war was carried on in those days.

The campaign could not be continued in the year 1354 on account of the mildness of the winter, but that of 1355 offered every facility for a renewal of the invasion. Siegfried von Dahnenfeld made two successful expeditions into Lithuania, and was about to undertake a third at Christmas, when his intention was frustrated by a fearful fire breaking out at Ragnit, which destroyed all the military stores collected there for the enterprise, and the greater part of the town was nearly burnt to the ground.

In 1356 the Lithuanians, under their Prince Kynstutte, attempted to take possession of Altenstein, but were compelled to retire in discomfiture. In Poland the Lithuanians, with the assistance of the Tartars, overran Galicia, but were defeated by King Lewis of Hungary, at the head of 200,000 men. The Tartar prince was forced to submit, and pay a yearly tribute. The Grand Master, having received reinforcements from France and Germany, recommenced hostilities in the following year, but on his return to Prussia the

Lithuanians surprised and captured his rearguard, together with his baggage and the greater part of the booty which he had obtained.

In the year 1361 the Grand Comthur, Von Beuenthum, defeated Kynstutte, taking him prisoner; but the Lithuanian Prince, through the assistance of a baptized Prussian, managed to effect his escape in the garb of a member of the Order. He appears to have successfully evaded all pursuit, and reached the Court of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Masovia. To prevent any person being wrongfully accused of having assisted him, the Prince wrote to the Grand Master, giving an exact account of the manner in which he effected his escape.

Thorn was at this time the great emporium of the Russian and Polish trade. Its fairs were also frequented by many Lithuanian traders. Kynstutte, taking advantage of this circumstance, determined to surprise and capture this important town. He accordingly sent a number of Lithuanian and Russian soldiers disguised as traders. On a given signal they were to fire the town in several places, and then in the confusion massacre the inhabitants and plunder it. This daring plan was, however, frustrated by some houses being fired prematurely, and before the preparations for the massacre had been completed.

The citizens courageously extinguished the flames, afterwards falling upon the incendiaries, whom they

killed to a man. For their bravery the Grand Master rewarded the citizens by the grant of a special privilege, under which no foreigner could trade with another longer than the first three days of the fair. During the remaining time strangers could only transact business with the inhabitants of the town. The Grand Master having got together an army of 11,000 men, under the command of Wolfram von Baldersheim and Heinrich von Schaumberg, invaded Lithuania in the year 1362 for the purpose of recapturing Kauen. He had with him thirty-one pieces of artillery, which discharged stone balls instead of shot Kauen was defended by a garrison of 5,000 men, and a considerable body of Lithuanians had posted themselves in the vicinity of this important place The Grand Master drove them from this position and, on the appearance of the knights before Kauen, Waidat, the eldest son of Kynstutte, with sixty nobles, went over to the Christians, and expressed their willingness to be baptized. Waidat was sent to the Court of Charles IV., who treated him as Duke of Lithuania, and he afterwards took up his residence at Wehlau, where he died. The siege of Kauen is described in verse by Wigand von Marburg, a contemporary writer. The Grand Master surrounded the stronghold with an entrenchment and protected his rear with a series of earthworks, as it was expected that Kynstutte would attempt to raise the siege, it being known that he was in the neighbour-

hood. In an interview which this commander had with the Grand Master he satirically insinuated that the latter would not be so eager to storm the fortress did he not know perfectly well that Kynstutte was not amongst the defenders. The Grand Master immediately offered to allow him to enter the place with his followers. Kynstutte then remarked that this bold answer was dictated by the Grand Master's reliance on his entrenchments. The leader of the knights' army then offered to level them. The determination displayed by the Grand Master had such an effect upon the hardy and daring Lithuanian Prince that he broke up the conference and retired. The Christian army, having nothing now to fear from an external attack, was in a very short time in a position to storm the place. Three thousand of the garrison were slaughtered and the fortress was totally destroyed. The artillery which the Grand Master had with him was so badly served that it was found impossible to discharge each piece more than twice a day. Prussia was at this time suffering severely from famine, on account of the bad harvest; the scarcity of food was greatly increased by the prohibition which the Bishops of Plotzk and Cujavia had made of the exportation of corn from their dioceses. In 1363 the Palatine Rupert and Duke Wolfgang of Bavaria repaired to Prussia, with a large number of followers, for the purpose of taking part in the campaign. The Grand Master's first object was to drive out the Lithuanians from

the entrenched camp which they occupied on the frontier, and which had been fortified in accordance with the most approved principles, having palisades, ditches, and drawbridges. This enterprising movement was assisted by the advance of the Land-master from Liefland into Lithuania. The Grand Master appears to have attacked the camp of the Lithuanians in the rear and totally defeated them. The two armies now devastated the country as long as the weather permitted them to do so, after which they returned into Prussia. Kynstutte, in order to make good the loss of Kauen, was then busily engaged in erecting a strong fortress, which he styled New Kauen; but in the year 1364 the Comthur of Ragnit advanced into Lithuania and destroyed it, the main part of the army of the Order at the same time laying siege to Bisten. The garrison expressed their willingness to surrender within a given period should no reinforcements appear. This was agreed to, but during the night they managed to effect their escape. Nothing now remained for the Christians but to destroy the castle, as the position was too exposed for them to hold during the summer. The Grand Master also took the castle of Wielun by storm, and the greater number of its defenders were put to the sword. The commandant of the garrison, with some of his followers who had surrendered themselves, were murdered in cold blood as they were being conveyed to the presence of Winrich, who, it is said, wished to punish the

perpetrators of this foul deed, but was afraid to do so on account of the vicinity of the enemy.

We have before related that the Order did its utmost to create dissensions in Lithuania ; and about this time the two sons of Kynstutte, Korigel and Buchaw, raised the standard of revolt against their father and captured Wilna, but, not being sufficiently strong, were compelled to fly to Prussia, where they and their followers became Christians.

It is stated that at this period King Casimir of Poland visited the Grand Master at Marienburg, probably for the purpose of coming to a joint plan of campaign against the Lithuanians and Russians. For some years past Casimir had exhibited considerable jealousy towards the Order, on account of their declining to assist him with a contingent against the Lithuanians and Tartars, a refusal which he attributed to the desire of the knights to weaken his power. His son-in-law, the Margrave of Brandenburg, had even gone so far as to threaten to prevent any money or reinforcements passing through his territory, should they object to assist him and his father-in-law in the projected campaign. But as the Emperor at that time was doing his utmost to assist the Grand Master in enforcing discipline and obedience amongst the knights, disunion of the Order appears to us to have been the cause of the Grand Master's refusal. The Pope had also done his best to reconcile the conflicting interest of the Order with that of the Archbishop of Riga,

who had again renewed the old claims on that body.

In the years 1366-1367 the Marshal Schindekopf and the Grand Master appear to have again carried on war in the dominions of Kynstutte, who was forced to conclude a truce, which was violated, however, in the year 1368 by a son of Kynstutte attempting to capture Ragnit by treachery, in defiance of the orders of his father. The Grand Master thereupon marched into Lithuania, and, under the protection of a large army, erected a burg named Gotteswerder, after having provisioned and garrisoned which he retired to Prussia. Kynstutte now declared war, and he and his brother besieged the new burg for five weeks, when the Christians surrendered; but in a very short time it was recaptured by the Marshal, together with a Lithuanian stronghold called Bayerey.

In the interview which took place between the Marshal and Kynstutte, the truce was renewed and a mutual exchange of prisoners took place. During the negotiations Kynstutte, unable to conceal his chagrin and desire for revenge, bluntly told Schindekopf that he intended returning his visit by a sojourn in Prussia during the ensuing year. Both parties now commenced preparing for the ensuing campaign. The Grand Master divided his force into three corps, one of which was to protect Samland, while the other two were stationed in Culm and Nordenburg.

Just on the eve of a grand tournament at the Carnival, Schindekopf, who had been reconnoitring the Lithuanian borders, informed the Grand Master that an army of about 60,000 men, composed of Lithuanians, Russians, and Tartars, was rapidly advancing on his dominions. This army crossed the frontier at various points, and, after laying waste a great part of Prussia, captured Ortelsburg, and effected a junction near Rudau.

Schindekopf, who had with him an army of 40,000 men, in his turn marched against the Lithuanians, and, without waiting for the Grand Master to bring up reinforcements, commenced the battle. His reason for this proceeding was the fear that the Lithuanians might suddenly retreat, and carry off the immense plunder which had fallen into their hands. The left wing of the Lithuanian army was composed of Russians and Tartars, under the command of Olgyerd, and the right, consisting of Lithuanians and Samogitians, was commanded by Kynstutte. The battle raged with great fury up to mid-day. The point of attack of the knights appears to have been the left flank of the Lithuanians, and the impetuosity with which the Marshal constantly renewed the conflict began to force the Russians and Tartars to waver. Olgyerd, fearing the result of the battle, had his two young sons despatched to the rear, a proceeding which had such a dispiriting effect on his followers that many wavered and took to flight. At this moment the

Grand Master arrived, at the head of a body of picked knights, and threw himself on the Russians and Tartars, who, having lost their standard, fled in all directions, Kynstutte doing his utmost to restore order, but in vain. The Grand Master, however, did not consider it advisable to follow up his victory. The number of slain among the enemy may be fairly estimated at between 7,000 and 8,000. The Order lost 200 knights and twenty-six principal officers. Schindekopf himself received a wound in the mouth from the thrust of a Lithuanian noble named Wissewild, of which he died on his way to Königsberg. He at the same time, however, killed his opponent with one blow from his heavy sword. It would seem that the Marshal had incautiously raised his visor, for the purpose of observing the progress of the fight, when he received the wound. Considering all the circumstances of the engagement, it can scarcely be considered more than a drawn battle. The body of the Marshal was interred in the Mary Magdalene Chapel at Königsberg, where the Mint now stands. At one time it would seem that the ranks of the knights were shaken, when a shoemaker's apprentice named Hans von Sagan, the son of a citizen of Kneiphof, rescued one of the flags of the Order, and, although severely wounded, held his ground, and, waving the standard aloft, rallied his retreating comrades to the advance. A figure of a man in this attitude is very often to be found represented on ancient walls. Baczko

believes that these figures were in fact those of the holy Florian, not intended for the shoemaker's gallant apprentice. The Grand Master celebrated this victory by a series of festivities not only at Marienburg, but also in the principal towns of Prussia; and in commemoration of it a monument was erected, which still partly existed towards the end of the fourteenth century. The Grand Master, as a reward for the shoemaker's bravery, ordered a *fête* to be held on Ascension Day by the inhabitants.

In 1371 the Archduke Leopold of Austria arrived in Prussia with a large contingent. With these reinforcements the knights at once invaded Lithuania, which was the scene of frightful barbarities, no quarter being given to the enemy. In consequence of the immense losses which Kynstutte had experienced, he now wished to conclude an armistice with the Order for four years. The Grand Master was led to accede to the truce by the death of Casimir, an event which united the crowns of Hungary and Poland. Von Kniprode, on his return to Marienburg, had an interview with Waldemar of Denmark, who had fled from his dominions after the destruction of his army and navy by the Hanseatic towns, headed by Lubeck. Waldemar had always treated the subjects of the Teutonic Order with the greatest kindness, and, at the request of the principal Prussian towns, Winrich offered himself as mediator, and with his assistance and that of the Emperor a peace

was concluded; but Waldemar was obliged to cede the province of Scania to his opponents for the space of fifteen years.

The death of Casimir, King of Poland, was caused by a fall while hunting. Since his visit to Marienburg he had always been the greatest friend and supporter of the Order. By the arrangements which he and his future successor, Lewis of Hungary, entered into with the nobles, commonly called the "Pacta Conventa," that body acquired certain rights which were for ever afterwards detrimental to the sovereign and people.

Unfortunately for the country, King Lewis did not appear in Poland in person after his accession, but contented himself with sending his mother Elizabeth as Stadtholder. Poland soon became the scene of intestine struggles. It was invaded by the Lithuanians, and Duke Semowit threw off his vassalage and commenced seizing various Polish districts, to which he pretended he had a right.

The Grand Master appears to have previously advanced several sums of money to the Duke, but it is not known whether the former was acquainted with the fact that the money was for the raising of troops to invade Poland.

On the conclusion of the Lithuanian truce a dispute commenced with the Prussian bishops, who demanded a third part of the conquered country, with the power of choosing its situation. Of this privilege, as we have before seen, the bishops fully

understood how to avail themselves, for they invariably selected those districts where there was little or no chance of being disturbed by invasion. The advantages which they possessed, with reference to military service, soon made their towns and domains most populous and flourishing, and as they strove to undermine the power of the fraternity, and placed themselves under the direct control of the Pope, it became a matter of the greatest moment to the Teutonic Order to curtail the temporal power of the Papacy in Prussia. For this purpose the Grand Masters had, as we have already stated, managed to introduce priests belonging to the German Order into several Chapters, by which bishops friendly to the knights were elected. Before going further, however, we would remind our readers that Eberhard III., Bishop of Ermland, was one of the strongest supporters of the Papacy, and that he had been constantly in dispute with the former Grand Master, Siegfried of Feuchtwangen, with reference to the extent of his see and his power in secular matters. The Grand Master had been compelled to acquiesce in the decision of the Pontiff, who had pronounced in favour of the bishop, but had acceded to the request that the military governor of the see should be a German knight. By this transaction the Order was able to summon the subjects of the bishop when they required them for service in the field, as the military governor had the charge of calling out the levies. To evade this,

Bishop Henry II. relieved all the settlers from military duties for fifteen years. This naturally was a great attraction to those who wished to settle in Prussia for commercial or agricultural purposes.

On the bishopric of Ermland becoming vacant, by a series of skilful intrigues the knights were able to gain over some of the Chapter, and in the choice of a bishop a dispute took place, which ended in the election of two prelates. On their death, however, the Grand Master declared his Chancellor Heunemann, according to the right of patronage, Bishop of Ermland, but Pope Benedict XII. pronounced this nomination null and void, the consequence being that the see was vacant for eight years. The Papal party now determined to elect as bishop some nominee whom the Grand Master would be compelled to acknowledge. Knowing the influence which King John of Bohemia exercised over the latter, they determined to bring forward Hermann von Liebenstein, chancellor to that sovereign, as a candidate for the vacant see. In this plan they were fully successful, for the King of Bohemia naturally supported his favourite, and the Order was not in a position to offend so powerful a friend and ally.

Pope Benedict XII. now resolved to render it impossible in future for a friend of the Order to be elected as bishop, and, immediately on the death of Liebenstein, the choice fell upon the Dean of the Chapter, John of Meissen, who publicly proclaimed

that he acknowledged no other authority than that of the successors of St. Peter. This was in direct violation of the prerogative of the Grand Master and the Archbishop of Riga. The new bishop, fearing that the Order would attempt to expel him, fortified the castles of Rössel, Seeburg, and Heilsburg, and it is stated that his vassals laboured on these works gratuitously. This shows that the colonists sided with the bishop, as they had probably become wearied with the constant wars which the Order was carrying on. The Grand Master was compelled to content himself with remonstrances, as already the Papal party had studiously caused the report to be circulated that it was the intention of the Order to confiscate the ecclesiastical property. Bishop John died in the year 1355, and the knights were unable to prevent the election of one of their most violent opponents, a certain Johann Streifrok, who, with the view of making himself more independent of that body, induced the Emperor Charles IV. to acknowledge him as imperial prince, a title which was made public on the 23rd of August, 1357. To appease the knights, the Pope nominated Johann Schadewald, or Schadeland, to the see of Culm, as this prelate was greatly respected by the Grand Master; but eventually, not finding the bishop inclined to carry out his wishes, transferred him to Hildesheim in 1366, and gave the vacant see to Wigbold, or Wiebold.

Disputes with reference to the frontiers of

Ermland were constantly carried on between the bishop and the Grand Master, who had several interviews with the prelate on the subject. In one, which took place on the *fête* of St. John, in the year 1369, Winrich openly accused the ecclesiastics of the intention of acquiring Prussia for themselves. The bishop retorted by saying that one priest was worth all Prussia put together. This so enraged the Grand Master that he drew his dagger, but was prevented using it by the Comthur of Elbing. The bishop fled on the following night to Dantzic, and from thence he proceeded to Avignon, where the Pope then resided. He was followed by the Canon of the Chapter, Johann von Essen, who managed to convey out of the country the deeds of the privileges which had been granted to the bishopric of Ermland.

The Pope declared that the districts claimed by the bishops lawfully belonged to them, founding his decision on their right to claim a third part of every fresh conquest. The Order thereupon took possession of the disputed districts and the entire bishopric of Ermland. Bishop Streifrok died at Avignon in the year 1373.

Urban VI. determined to attempt to introduce into Prussia the collecting of Peter's pence, together with the obnoxious tithes. The Bishop of Calabria, Nicolaus, induced the priests to accede to the Pope's request, but they agreed only to levy one contribution. This arrangement was not, however, made

known to the Grand Master. On a certain Dominican monk calling upon the clergy for the moneys, they refused to have anything to do with him, and brought the entire matter before the Grand Master, who immediately ordered that the collection should be at once stopped. The Pope appears to have placed the Order and its chief under the interdict, but only one Prussian bishop had the courage to publish it, namely, Wigbold, who was compelled in consequence to resign his see.

After the death of Streifrok, Johann von Essen, the Dean of Ermland, petitioned the Emperor and the imperial princes to assist him in recovering his see, on the ground that the bishops of Ermland were princes of the Empire. The Emperor Charles IV. and the Palatine Rupert, with several other princes, took up his cause, but by intrigues and large bribes the Grand Master was able to induce his opponents to come to a compromise. The Pope, who, we are told, also received a considerable pecuniary consideration, made no opposition to this. He withdrew the interdict, and nominated Heinrich Sarbaum, who was secretary to Charles IV., as Bishop of Ermland. He likewise ordered the Bishop of Prague to investigate and settle amicably all the disputes which existed between the bishop and the Order. The commission which were appointed for this purpose took no notice whatever of the contradic-

tory evidence which was laid before them, but decided in accordance with their own judgment as to the limits of the bishopric.

The Order is stated to have gained upwards of 6,000 hides of land by the verdict of the commissioners. Their opponents accused them of having obtained this decision by improper means. Pope Gregory XI. confirmed the fiat of the Bishop of Prague in the year 1375.

From what we can discover with reference to these transactions, the Grand Master must have undertaken to support and assist the introduction of the various religious orders into Prussia, in order to gain supremacy over the bishops; and that with the same object he increased the number of monasteries, churches, and pilgrimages. Amongst the religious establishments which he caused to be built may be mentioned that at Wehlau, which was founded in the year 1380 for monks of the order of St. Martin. The wealth of the order of St. Mary was greatly increased by his munificence. The cloister of the Trinity was also established by him at Great Waldeck, on the site of a celebrated heathen temple, for the monks of the order of St. Augustine. Its erection was assisted in by Bishop John of Ermland. By these concessions in favour of the introduction of monastic establishments into Prussia, the Grand Master, it must be acknowledged, interested himself in the development of the commerce of Prussia with other countries.

Edward III. of England, one of our greatest sovereigns, in policy as well as arms, was always on the alert to increase the trade of the country. It is well known that English ships were in the habit of trading with Prussia prior to his reign, and, as we have before seen, the knights received reinforcements from England.

It may be gratifying to English readers to learn that the Grand Master opened commercial negotiations with this country in the year 1370, and that in the year 1372 two English trading vessels arrived in Prussia, laden with armour and German wine.

The following is an extract from the letter of protection granted by Edward III. to the two captains; one named John Roche, of Zealand, the other John Suerd, of York:—

"Quod ipse quatuor pipas vini de la Ryne in aqua de Ouse apud Eborum, in navibus carcare et las usque Kyngeston super Hull, et abinde versus partes Pruciæ ad cōmodum suum inde faciendum per se et servientes suos ducere possit."

The ships seem to have returned to England with wood and other produce. The King of Poland allowed the German merchants to make Lemberg and Cracow their great commercial depôts, and undertook to give the Prussian merchants six months' warning prior to withdrawing this privilege, so as to enable them to convey their goods back to their own country.

Although the King of Lithuania remained true to his engagement, this did not deter many of the commandants of the burgs belonging to the Order on the frontier from undertaking forays into Lithuania, with varying success. For the time being Kynstutte took no notice of these inroads, as he was engaged in hostilities with the Russians. Besides this, the Pope and the King of Poland were then doing their utmost to induce him to embrace Christianity. Kynstutte was too sagacious a ruler not to know that, if he could prove that the knights had forced him to declare war just at the time he was meditating on his conversion, they would have little or no chance of obtaining external support. He therefore remained on the defensive until the expiration of the truce, when he invaded Samland.

The Comthur of Ragnit now advanced into Lithuania, and on his return from the expedition, laden with plunder, he had to resist a terrible attack from the Samogitians, who endeavoured to cut off his retreat by erecting an abatis across his route. The Comthur, twelve knights, and many soldiers lost their lives, while the remainder of the force succeeded in storming the works, and returned safely.

The Lithuanians however, in the spring of 1376, devastated all the country round Neidenburg and Soldau, and laid siege, though ineffectually, to both places; but in the autumn of the same year they

took Insterburg and burnt it to the ground, also ravaging all the surrounding country up to Wehlau. Although the knights were generally successful in their inroads, they at times received considerable checks.

Late in the year 1377 an expedition was undertaken by the Grand Master, at the request of Duke Albert of Austria, who had come to Prussia with sixty-two knights and many followers. In 1378 Günther, Duke of Hohenstein, and William, Duke of Katzenellenbogen, also arrived in Prussia, and, marching into Lithuania, accompanied by Marshal Gottfried von Linde, laid siege to Troky. Failing in their operations, however, they withdrew and marched upon Wilna. The town was already set on fire when one of the Lithuanian princes, either Kynstutte or Olgyerd, arrived on the scene of action, and forced them to give up their intentions of causing further destruction. In this campaign mercenaries appear to have been employed for the first time. All that the knights formerly undertook to supply to their allies was provisions and forage, but the latter now received pay as well.

In the year 1378 the Grand Master confirmed the privileges of the Handfeste to the town of Dantzic, and in the commencement of the following year the Marshal, with the assistance of the Duke Albrecht of Lorraine, invaded Lithuania, and repeated the inroad towards the close of the same year, reducing

the greater part of the Samogitians, and compelling them to take the oath of allegiance to the Order. Towards the end of 1377 Olgyerd, the most celebrated of the Lithuanian rulers, died. Some time previously he had resigned the reins of government to his favourite son, Jagello. By his two wives he had twelve sons, three of whom, namely, Jagello, Skirgallo, and Swidrigail, rendered themselves conspicuous in the annals of their country, the other brothers, Cariebut, Langwenne, Carigal, and Wygant, appearing only occasionally in its history.

Kynstutte had promised his brother Olgyerd to act as guardian to Jagello, but, feeling convinced that the knights were determined on a war of extermination, he informed his nephew that, unless he concluded a peace with the Grand Master, it was his intention to emigrate from Lithuania with all his followers to some distant spot beyond the reach of the enemy. Jagello consented accordingly to treat for peace, and a meeting took place between the Grand Master, himself, and Kynstutte, and a treaty was concluded on the river Narew. The knights undertook to discontinue their inroads into that part of the country which lay in the district of the Memel and into the province of Garthe, and the princes, on their part, agreed for the space of ten years not to invade any of the districts of Osterode, Allenstein, Ortelsburg, Seeburg, and Gimlauken. There were also arrangements concluded by which the inhabitants of the

districts mentioned were allowed to hunt in the forests, and also to fish and rear bees. They likewise obtained the right to fell wood, either for the purpose of building carts and waggons, or for domestic use. In return they were bound to protect their feudal lords against any attacks in those districts which were not mentioned in the treaty. Should any person of note who might be visiting in neighbouring districts be robbed or killed, he or his relatives should receive a certain indemnification; and if by accident the domains of a friendly lord should become the scene of military operations, he was to be recompensed for any loss he might sustain.

The antecedents of the Lithuanian Prince Kynstutte and the conditions of the truce prove that he intended to be bound by it; but the knights, forgetful of the everlasting blemish which they would cast on their character by deceiving the confiding prince, actually concluded a secret treaty with Jagello, in which he was styled King of Lithuania; and further undertook not to molest his territory on condition of his abandoning Kynstutte. In order to mislead his uncle, pretended hostilities were to break out between Jagello and the knights. The prisoners of both parties were to be released without ransom, and during this sham warfare the knights were to attack Kynstutte with their entire strength. The Lithuanian, disdaining to turn his arms against his treacherous nephew, availed him-

self of the opportunity of a rising amongst the Samogitians to invade the territory of the knights, and bring about a general insurrection of their subjects. The outbreak alluded to arose from the severity with which the Comthur Gallno von Rühwahldt exacted feudal services from the people. A large number of natives were engaged in building the castle of Friedland, under the superintendence of a few soldiers of the Order. The Comthur, believing that these men were sufficiently numerous to superintend the works, went on a hunting excursion. Unfortunately for him the guards, availing themselves of his absence, became intoxicated, when the discontented labourers fell upon them with their spades and axes, and killed them to a man; they then surprised and massacred the Comthur and his companions. The mutineers, on being reinforced, marched against Memel, which they set on fire. The governor, Marquardt von Riehan, on hearing of the revolt, advanced against the insurgents at the head of 4,000 men; but in attacking the rebels his force got broken up in passing the marshes, and 2,400 men lost their lives or were taken prisoners, the remainder being compelled to retreat. Von Riehan was among the captured, and he and his comrades were burnt alive. In 1381 Kynstutte destroyed by fire the town of Osterode, the knights on their part retaliating by making several excursions into that prince's territory. The Grand Master, who had

ruled over the Order for the space of thirty-one years, died during this dishonourable war, June 24, 1382. Historians term his rule the golden period. There can be little doubt that he was a most able statesman and a consummate politician; for under his liberal sway a stimulus was given to the spread of education amongst the masses and to the development of trade with foreign countries.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1382—1390.

Conrad Zöllner von Rotenstein elected Grand Master (1382)—Conduct of Jagello towards the Knights and Kynstutte—Murder of Kynstutte (1383)—Escape of Vitold—Dispute between the Peasants and Priests—Intrigues of the Order in Polish Affairs—Alliance with Vitold—Jagello aspires to the Crown of Poland—Marriage of Jagello with Queen Hedwig—Jagello crowned King of Poland (1386)—Jagello's Zeal for the Conversion of the Lithuanians—Policy of Conrad Zöllner—Hiring of Mercenaries by the Order—Vitold again allies himself with the Order (1390)—Preparations for another Campaign—Death of Conrad Zöllner (1390)—Development of Commerce.

At the Grand Chapter, which was held on the 5th of October, 1382, for the election of a new Grand Master, the knights unanimously chose Conrad Zöllner von Rotenstein, who had been Comthur of Dantzic from 1368 to 1372. He was a native of Würzburg, and his family had received the surname of Zöllner on account of their being collectors of imperial dues.

The knights now determined to drop the title of brothers, and assume that of Crusaders, to distinguish them from the monks, who were also called brothers. In vain the new Grand Master pointed out to them that this would not only bring about a division amongst themselves, but also convey to the world the idea that they considered the monks and priests of the Order inferior to themselves. Besides this difficulty, he found himself, immediately upon his taking the reins of government, confronted with one of the most subtle and crafty opponents of the Order. Jagello, their former willing instrument, had gained the favour of the Pope through their assistance; and as he was considered by his contemporaries to be a man of upright character, it was hoped that, under his rule, the Lithuanians would become a civilized European nation. Jagello, with all his capacity, would never have been able to maintain his position, had it not been for the talents and influence of his uncle Kynstutte, who, as we have already seen, had promised to protect the interests of his nephew. Jagello, on becoming Grand Duke of Lithuania, pretended to be on the most friendly terms with his uncle. Afterwards, however, with the aid of his favourite minister Voidelo, who had originally been cup-bearer, he did his utmost to ruin Kynstutte. The latter, indeed, became aware of these intrigues, but Jagello, by plausible arguments, induced his uncle to believe that the reports of his hostility towards him were

untrue. A certain event, however, compelled Kynstutte to assume a different attitude towards his unworthy nephew.

Considerable indignation had been excited amongst the people by the arbitrary conduct of Voidelo, to whom Jagello had given his sister in marriage.

But this was not all. Jagello, fearing that his people might demand his resignation in his uncle's favour, begged of Kynstutte not to forsake him; and yet at the very time that he was loading that prince with expressions of gratitude, he instigated the Landmaster of Liefland and Skirgallo to attack Andreas Vaidat, a son of Kynstutte. The latter, upon becoming acquainted with his nephew's treachery, was naturally roused to anger, and advanced on Wilna, which he surprised, and captured Jagello, together with his favourite minister, who was immediately executed. A copy of the secret treaty which Jagello had concluded with the Order was found at Wilna; but, through the intercession of Vitold, Kynstutte forgave his ungrateful nephew, and not only restored him to liberty, but gave him the towns of Krewa and Vitebsk, together with all the treasures which Olgyerd had deposited at Wilna. Skirgallo, meanwhile, escaped to Liefland, with the Master and his followers. In the document found at Wilna, Jagello and Skirgallo ceded to the Order the territory of the Samogitians as far as the river Oubis, and they promised not to declare war without the permission of the Grand Master for the

space of four years, and that any troops which the Order might despatch against Kynstutte should receive the necessary provisions for the expedition from Wilna, and, by a third article, the two princes undertook to embrace Christianity before the expiration of four years. It would seem that these traitors actually managed to regain the confidence of Kynstutte, for, on an insurrection breaking out in Lithuania, headed by the Prince of Severien, one of Jagello's secret allies, Kynstutte requested his nephew to raise an army to assist in quelling the disturbance. Having enrolled a large number of troops, Jagello hereupon took possession of Wilna by treachery, and openly bade defiance to his uncle. He now seems to have been reinforced by the Order with two corps, one from Prussia and the other from Liefland. Their numbers are not mentioned, but as the knights probably expected that, by the terms of the treaty, a large part of Lithuania would be permanently ceded to them as the price of their treachery, their forces must have been very considerable. Jagello's first step was to seize Troky, the capital of Kynstutte's territory. The latter, with his son Vitold, on being apprised of this fresh act of perfidy, despatched messengers to the Duke of Masovia, his son-in-law, for assistance; and although their army was far inferior to that of Jagello and the knights, they determined to risk their fate in a pitched battle. We now come to one of those episodes in the history of the Teutonic

Order which cast upon it a dark shadow of obloquy; for it is impossible to believe that the knights had not a sufficient force to prevent the commission of one of the most nefarious acts recorded in this bloodthirsty war. Jagello and his ally Skirgallo, being fully aware that the battle which was about to be fought would be a most desperate one, and fearing that their own troops might go over to those of Kynstutte, who was universally respected, determined, if possible, to obtain possession of his person and that of his son Vitold by treachery, and then murder them. With this design, messengers were despatched to Vitold, who had been brought up with Jagello, requesting a meeting for the purpose of amicably arranging the dispute between himself and Vitold's father. As a pledge of sincerity, Jagello sent Skirgallo to Kynstutte's camp, to remain there during Vitold's visit to his cousin. The faithless prince persuaded Vitold that he desired to renew the old ties of friendship which had formerly existed between himself and his uncle. His cousin, accepting these plausible assurances, drew up the conditions of a reconciliation. As this document required the signature of Kynstutte, the traitor now invited his uncle to his camp, and the invitation was accepted. Jagello then skilfully managed to protract the final settlement of the treaty until the evening, when he induced his uncle to accompany him to Wilna, to ratify the treaty there; but no sooner had they entered the town

than Kynstutte and Vitold were seized and thrown into prison. We are told that the knights interfered in behalf of their two brave opponents, but, be that as it may, the perfidious nephew had Kynstutte conveyed in irons to a miserable dungeon in Krewa, where he was strangled. Such was the respect, however, in which this intrepid prince was held by the Lithuanians that Jagello was obliged to have his uncle's body burnt with all the honours of a royal prince. Vitold, who had been allowed to see his wife Anna and her attendants, was informed by them that an assassin had arrived at Krewa for the purpose of murdering him, like his father, in the prison. Exchanging clothes, however, with one of the attendants of his wife, Vitold, thus disguised, managed to reach the Court of the Duke of Masovia in safety. Jagello, in revenge, had the father-in-law of Kynstutte, who was a very old man, executed.

In the years 1282-83 Prussia was blessed with such a plentiful harvest that corn was cheaper than it had ever been before. In 1283 a great flood took place, and, as it was believed that some of the principal embankments would be destroyed, the peasants demanded that the clergy should assist them in their labours. The Grand Master therefore ordered the priests to help the peasants, and when the former were called upon to keep watch at night, to observe the rising of the water, they appeared with a shovel in their right hand and a chalice in their left. This

so excited the ridicule of the peasants that they mockingly inquired whether the fathers had slept off the effects of the previous night's libations. At last from words the two parties came to blows. The question was again brought before the Grand Master, who decided that, as the priests declined to work, they should pay the sum of three marks for every hide of land they possessed, and that the interest arising from this capital should go towards the payment of the extra work which the labourers had to perform on the embankments.

During the events which brought about the tragic death of Kynstutte, the Grand Master was in constant negotiations with Duke Semowit and Lewis of Hungary, and also with the latter's son-in-law, Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg. Lewis, prior to his death, which took place in 1382, had come to an arrangement with the Polish nobles, who agreed to acknowledge his daughter Maria, the wife of Sigismund, Margrave of Brandenburg, as his successor. Although the Grand Master led both the Margrave and Semowit, Duke of Masovia, to believe that the Order desired their accession to the throne of Poland, he nevertheless privately supported the Polish nobles in preventing these two rivals from attaining their object; and it was by these machinations that the crown was bestowed on Hedwig, youngest daughter of Lewis, and granddaughter of Casimir, with the proviso that she should marry any prince they might select.

This she was compelled to do by her mother, the Dowager Queen, for she had already been affianced to William, Duke of Austria. But, alas for Poland! her nobles saw in him a man who would force them to obey the laws, and strip them of that authority which they exercised in the government of the country.

The betrothal of William of Austria would, in all probability, have led to the absorption of the greater part of Lithuania by the knights; but Jagello, who was now supreme in that country through the assistance of the Order, opened negotiations with the Polish nobles. Since his accession to the dukedom of Lithuania, he had busily engaged himself in spreading rumours of his sincere and ardent desire to become a member of the Christian Church, and bring his people with him.

His father Olgyerd had, during various inroads into Prussia, Liefland, Poland, and Russia, amassed a large amount of ready money; and with this, together with the offer of making Lithuania a dependent province of Poland, he gained over its nobles to support him in his matrimonial project with the young queen.

As soon as the Grand Master became acquainted with Jagello's intrigues, he determined to alter his tactics, and despatched messengers to Vitold, expressing the readiness of the Order not only to restore him to power, but also to make him King of Lithuania. The Prince accepted these

overtures, and the following arrangement was concluded.

Vitold undertook that, should he be reinstated and placed on the throne of Lithuania, he would acknowledge the Grand Master as his feudal lord, and that, should he die without male or female issue, his dominions should revert to the Order. In return for this the knights gave to him the strongholds Georgenburg, Ritterswerder, and Johannisburg.

Vitold now marched into Lithuania at the head of a considerable army, chiefly composed of the retainers of the Order. Jagello, not considering it prudent to risk a battle, retreated from Troky, which was captured with little or no difficulty.

For some unaccountable reason the army of the knights returned to Prussia, leaving a comparatively small garrison to defend the town. Before the works could be placed in a proper state of defence, Jagello appeared with his army, and Vitold was compelled to capitulate.

Jagello now came to terms with his cousin Vitold, and promised that, if he would break off his connexion with the Order, he would cede to him several districts immediately, and more on the first favourable opportunity. Vitold not only agreed to these propositions, but treacherously betrayed into the power of Jagello the Comthur of Ragnit, to whom he was under the greatest obligations. Meanwhile, the Polish magnates were determined only to marry their queen to the highest bidder, Jagello,

especially as he and his two brothers, Skirgallo and Boris, had agreed to embrace Christianity, by which he gained over the Polish ecclesiastics. William of Austria, who had arrived in Prussia, was received in great pomp by the Order, who escorted him with a large retinue to the frontiers of Poland. Thence he proceeded to Cracow, where the Queen, who would not hear of a marriage with Jagello, became so enamoured of the prince that, we are told, she allowed him the rights of a husband for the space of fifteen days, as the most insurmountable obstacle she could think of to a marriage with the hated Jagello.

That her disposition must have been somewhat akin to that of Catherine the Great of Russia is evident from the fact that, some of her attendants having endeavoured to prevent her seeing William of Austria, she seized an axe and threatened to fell to the ground those who attempted to bar her passage.

The Lithuanian Duke, knowing the avarice of the Polish magnates, increased his bribes, and declared his intention of residing in Poland and of bringing with him all his treasures. He likewise undertook to reconquer all the provinces which Poland had lost in her previous wars, including Culm and Pomerellen. The Polish party who supported Prince William seem now to have forsaken him, and he was compelled to leave the country. The Queen was treated as a prisoner at Cracow. In vain she called the attention of her advisers to the

fact that she had been betrothed by her father to William, and to what had already taken place between them. They on their part explained the advantages that would accrue to Poland by the incorporation of Lithuania; and the priestly party declared that the conversion of many thousands of unbelievers would exculpate the Queen from the sin of disobeying the injunctions of her deceased father. At last Hedwig despatched a confidential friend, named Olesnicza, to have an interview with Jagello, in order to ascertain his character and personal appearance. Whether the Duke made a partisan of this courtier is not known, but shortly afterwards the Queen consented to meet him. Baczko also tells us that it was not until the messenger had seen her suitor in a bath that he consented to report favourably as to his being a suitable husband for his royal mistress.

The Queen, after having had an interview with Jagello, consented to the marriage, which was at once solemnized, and the Duke was crowned King of Poland on the 14th of February, 1386. To add insult to injury, Jagello invited to his wedding his former friend and ally, the Grand Master, who indignantly declined such an overture of friendship.

Jagello now commenced the conversion of his Lithuanian subjects. All the great nobles who had accompanied him into Poland had already been baptized. His first act was to order the destruction of the holy snakes and all the emblems of paganism.

He also forbade the marriage of a Catholic with a member of the Greek Church, as the latter did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. Not content with issuing these various enactments, the new Polish sovereign traversed all parts of his dominions for the purpose of explaining to his subjects, in person, the blessings of the Christian religion. It is related that in order to obtain converts he bestowed on each person who embraced the new religion a white woollen coat. The garments of the Lithuanians in those days ordinarily consisted of rough linen and the skins of wild animals. The white coat seems to have been so attractive, that we are told he converted 30,000 of the pagans in a few days.

The Bishop of Posen was despatched to Rome to inform Pope Urban VI. of the rapid strides which Christianity was making in Lithuania. This placed the Grand Master in a very delicate position, as the reason why the Order was so strongly supported by the Pope was because the knights were supposed to wage a perpetual war for the conversion of the heathen. It was in vain that the Grand Master appealed to the different German princes to assist him against the Polish King, on the ground that Jagello had outraged the laws of the Catholic religion by his marriage with the Queen of Poland, and that he secretly intrigued against the Catholic Church. Finding that Germany would not send him any help, Von Rotenstein concluded a treaty

with the Dukes Wratislaus and Boguslaus of Pomerania against Jagello. According to the terms of this compact, the Order bound itself to pay to the Dukes the sum of 10,000 marks for their armed assistance, and to aid them in recovering Dobrin and Bromberg. It was agreed likewise that all the conquests made in the war with Lithuania should be equally divided between the Dukes and the Order.

To make these arrangements more binding, the treaty was signed by the knights and the municipality of the town. In the year 1386 Conrad Zöllner, with the consent of the bishops and clergy, to check the exactions of usurers, enacted that in future the legal per-centage in Prussia, which was formerly ten per cent., should not exceed eight and three quarters. Laws were also passed regulating the system of raising money by means of mortgages. The Grand Master also concluded a treaty with Vitold in the year 1387. This prince was now on bad terms with Jagello, because the latter had made Skirgallo Grand Duke of Lithuania. The Grand Master despatched to the Prince considerable reinforcements from Liefland and Prussia. The greater part of the country over which Vitold ruled declared in his favour, and with his auxiliaries he attempted the capture of Wilna, but was repulsed. During these transactions Pope Urban VI. had, by means of his ecclesiastics, spread the most damaging reports against the Order, on account of their continued hostility towards Jagello, whom he repre-

sented as one of the leading missionaries of the time. The Polish King treated the missionary priests with the utmost distinction; nor does he appear to have checked the pretensions of the priests to temporal supremacy. He well knew that, as long as he supported the paramount authority of the Pope, he should be able to count on his influence against the Order, whereas Urban believed that the conversion of Lithuania would enable his clergy to exercise more power in Prussia. The Pope therefore recommended the Grand Master to recognize Jagello as King of Poland and Lithuania.

The knights, finding themselves deserted by their former friends, now determined to take into their pay on a greater scale bands of mercenaries, which the constant wars in Germany had brought into existence. In the year 1388 Von Rotenstein made a contract with the warlike family of Wedel, who, for the pay of a yearly sum of 18,000 marks, undertook to place at their disposal 100 cavalry, composed of knights and their retainers, together with 400 horses and 100 cross-bowmen; but it was agreed that these troops should not be employed against the prince of the country to whom the family owed fidelity.

About this time the Order experienced a great loss by the desertion of about 4,000 men, whom the Duke of Geldern had despatched to Prussia. This took place in the following manner. The Duke, who appears to have been an excessively modest

and pious man, came to Prussia in the garb of a simple pilgrim. A certain Eberhard von Waldau, governor of the district of Schlawe, treacherously seized and conveyed him to his castle at Falkenburg, where he extorted from him a promise that he would not attempt to make his escape. The knights, on hearing of this, surrounded the place and forced it to capitulate. To the astonishment of his friends, the Duke declared he could not leave the castle until Eberhard had released him from his word of honour. The latter did not do so until his district had been completely laid waste by the knights. During the Duke's imprisonment, his followers, finding themselves without a leader, and fearing some act of treachery, made their way back to Germany. The Duke, having at last obtained his freedom, proceeded on a pilgrimage to the church of the holy Judith at Königsberg.

To repopulate the devastated districts of Nadrauen, the Grand Master offered to settlers an exemption from one-half of the annual land-tax for the space of three years. He also promised to advance a considerable sum of money to assist them in cultivating the land.

Notwithstanding the undefended state of the country as regards troops, the Grand Master Conrad Zöllner von Rotenstein extended the territory of Prussia, by occupying the castle of Wiese and the district of Zabra, together with the surrounding country, which Semowit, the Duke of

Masovia, had pledged for the sum of 7,000 Hungarian florins.

Vitold, who was again on bad terms with his cousin, now returned to Prussia with a considerable retinue. With a view to obtain the confidence of the Order, he brought with him his family, and also delivered into their hands his two sons, Joan and George, as hostages. This induced the Order to assist him in invading Lithuania; but an attempt to capture Wilna by surprise was unsuccessful.

During the years 1388–89 a considerable number of English knights, with their followers, arrived at the port of Dantzic, to aid the Order in their war against Jagello. On their disembarkation, however, a dispute arose between the English and their allies, in which several lives were lost. Thereupon the English speedily re-embarked and returned home.

In 1390, after Vitold had been for some time a resident in Prussia, the Grand Master, being convinced that he had really made up his mind to become an ally of the Order, concluded the following arrangements with him. In the first place, Vitold renewed all his former promises; secondly, he undertook to repay the Order for any provisions which they might send to him from Prussia; and, thirdly, he acknowledged the receipt from the Order of 1,000 Prussian marks. It is worthy of notice that Vitold states in this document that he would give to the Order bills payable twelve months after

date, which clearly shows that the Prince was fully acquainted with the system of exchange. The Grand Master now reopened negotiations with England for the purpose of carrying on the war with Lithuania; for we find that Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Duke of Lancaster, and subsequently Henry IV., King of England, arrived in Prussia, in the month of August, with a numerous fleet, on board of which he had 300 picked retainers. On landing, he purchased at his own expense a sufficient number of horses to mount them. The Order also received considerable reinforcements from France and Germany. The foreign auxiliaries were now joined by Vitold, who had a large number of troops under his command. Just at the opening of the campaign, however, Conrad Zöllner von Rotenstein died at Christburg, towards the end of August, 1390.

Under the rule of this Grand Master the privileges and rights of Prussians were confirmed and increased. Justice could now be easily obtained by the poorest subjects. Conrad greatly promoted public security by his police regulations. Like his predecessor, he was unwearied in his exertions to extend the foreign commerce of Prussia. On his accession to power, the trade with England had almost come to a standstill, on account of the treatment which the Prussian merchantmen had received at the hands of Englishmen, who, on their side, complained of the conduct of the Prussians in their

own ports; and at last, in the year 1385, King Richard II. despatched an embassy to Marienburg, to negotiate a treaty of reciprocity, and to demand an indemnification for the losses experienced by English traders. Prior to the arrival of the ambassadors the Grand Master had forbidden any Prussian to trade with England. Our merchants then, like those of the present day, were strong advocates of free trade; and the Prussians, whose manufactories of cloth were not equal to those of this country, strongly opposed the wholesale introduction of English fabrics into their markets. In fact, the envoys were informed that English goods could only be imported into Prussia at Elbing, although Prussian ships at that time could trade with any English port.

Finally, the ambassadors were informed that it was the intention of Conrad Zöllner to despatch envoys to England for the purpose of presenting a counter charge against the English authorities for their conduct towards Prussian traders. In 1386 a Prussian embassy, consisting of two knights and a merchant of Thorn, with a retinue of seventy-five persons, arrived in London. Thereupon King Richard II. despatched an envoy to Marienburg for further particulars, but his conduct appears to have been such that the Grand Master broke off all negotiations.

We quote the following extract of the letter of the Grand Master to the King of England:—

"Quomodo ipse Waltherus Sibillis gravibus verbis et delatoriis literarum Antecessoris nostri piæ memoriæ multum inhoneste reprehendit et inhonestavit, publicâque in aliorum mercatorum præsentiâ dixit, quod literæ prædecessoris nostri mendaciosæ essent ac falsæ et non veræ; in quo revera Ordo noster in antea ab aliquo non extitit inculpatus."

In the summer of 1388 two English envoys arrived at Marienburg, and it was decided that all claims for damages should be settled by a certain number of English and Prussian commissioners; likewise, that in future all Prussian and English ports should be open to the traders of each country, and that they were to enjoy reciprocal rights during the residence in either country. This treaty was ratified at Marienburg on the 21st of August, 1388.

The trade with France had also greatly increased, although merchantmen were occasionally captured by pirates from Normandy and Picardy.

At the intercession of the Grand Master, Charles VI. of France issued a proclamation, March 26, 1383, in which his subjects were threatened with severe penalties, should they in future interfere in any way with the trade or traders of Prussia.

The unfortunate civil war which at this time was raging in Flanders greatly depressed Prussian commerce, although Philip of Burgundy did his best to protect it.

The trade with Novgorod, during the rule of

Conrad Zöllner, made little or no progress on account of the German Hanseatic towns, who generally exported to Prussia Flemish cloth, which was cheaper and better than that made in Prussia. So also with regard to the trade with Sweden and Denmark.

The greatest drawback to the Prussian foreign trade was the Baltic pirates, who defied all the efforts of the powerful Hanseatic Confederation.

About the year 1385 the Prussians entered into an arrangement with a certain Wulflam, who undertook to protect the Prussian merchant vessels for the sum of 5,000 marks, on condition of their placing at his disposal several armed vessels, with crews and provisions. The ships which he seized, together with their cargoes, were to belong to him, excepting captured Prussian merchandise. The large towns also subsidized the Hanseatic Confederation to protect their trade, but the organization of the pirates was such that, for many years after, these sea-robbers were the terror of the Baltic Sea.

Moreover, the Grand Master, by various reforms, increased the revenue of the Order to such an extent, that he had ample funds for hiring large bodies of German mercenaries. During his rule the artisans, through their guilds, acquired considerable influence, and occasionally formed a species of trades-union over the entire country, for the purpose of compelling their employers to keep good faith with them; but the trading citizens, with the assistance

of the Grand Master, appear to have gained the upper hand, as it was enacted that no guild or union should hold meetings more than four times a year, and that, during their sittings, representatives of the town council should be present.

APPENDIX.

(A) Page 41.

We invariably find in the early history of every nation that, when the population increased in excess of the means of support, its warriors led the warlike portion of the people in search of a new home, and this was doubtless the origin of the Vikings or Vikingr. The word appears to have been derived from the Danish *viig* or *wick*, signifying a bay. The Anglo-Saxons termed them Viccinger or Wygcyng. We find that some of the old writers called Norway "Vikin." From this it would seem that the Norwegians or Norsemen were the original Vikings; that is to say, the people who lived on the shores of a bay. According to some writers, the word is derived from the Keltic *caen*, a head or chieftain. Others trace it to the Icelandic *konungr*, equivalent to the Danish *kingen*, English *kings*.

The achievements of the Vikingr were celebrated all over Europe, for gradually they roamed over distant oceans in search of spoil, or in quest of new fields of enterprise. That the ancient Scandinavians were a most warlike race is demonstrated by the quantity of arms constantly dug up in the country. And that at a very early period its inhabitants navigated the rivers, is proved by the remnants of ancient canoes which have been found.

In course of time, as the population increased, and the rivers afforded an insufficient supply of fish, the hardy fisher-

men ventured along the neighbouring coasts. Their success encouraged them to build larger vessels, so as to venture into the open sea. It was thus a trade was opened with the countries on the Baltic. The glowing accounts which the earliest navigators brought back, concerning the wealth and warlike disposition of those people with whom they had intercourse, fired the impetuous youth of Scandinavia with the desire of rendering their names glorious in the annals of their country by the foundation of a great Scandinavian empire. Gradually princes assumed the commands of the fleets, consisting, at times, of several thousand men, who left their homes to form permanent settlements in foreign lands. They were renowned as much for their generosity as for their bravery. They regarded it as dishonourable to surprise the foe by night, or to attack a fleet much inferior in numbers to their own. Their commanders were called saekingr, or sea-kings; the inferior officers, styled kiempur, kämpe, or kappar, were charged with the navigation of the ship and the care of the booty. The scene of their first operations was confined to that part of the country termed Austurland, extending from the estuary of the Vistula to the Gulf of Finland. It was called by the Danes Reith-Gothland, *reith* signifying marshy land, and there can be little doubt that the greater part of the inhabitants on the coast were of the same nationality as the Goths. The word "Reith" was attached to the name Gothland to distinguish it from Gothland proper, and it is to be presumed that the Scandinavian adventurers hoped to annex all these countries on account of the similarity of their religion, dialect, and manners.

Latham is of opinion that the Gothic settlement in Scandinavia is of a comparatively recent date, and he states that "prominence has been given to their relations in the way of descent, since the denial of the existence of any nations, other than Sarmatian, as occupants of the water systems of

either the Vistula or the Oder, anterior to the tenth century, notwithstanding the numerous statements as to the occurrence of the Gothic tribes in the present countries of Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Prussia, Courland, and even Esthonia, is a point to which I have no hesitation in committing myself. Furthermore, whoever will so far divest himself of his prepossessions as to admit the possibility of the Jute of Jutland and the Goth of Gothland being something other than Gothic, in the usual sense of the term, will find that no provisional hypothesis will explain so many of the difficulties created by the conflicting evidence involved in the terms Jute, Goth, Reid, Gaut, &c., as that of an extension of the Lithuanian Vitæ or Guttones, to the southern parts of Sweden and to Jutland." —*Varieties of Man*, page 536.

As regards the origin of the Goths, we possess very little authentic information, as the celebrated history of the Goths, consisting of twelve volumes, by Cassiodorus, Prime Minister of Theodoric the Great, has been lost. From Procopius we are led to believe that the Goths were of Scandinavian origin, and that on account of the excess of the population they quitted their native homes and formed settlements on the sea-board of Prussia.

A story is related that they came in three vessels, one containing the progenitors of the Ostrogoths, the other those of the Visigoths, and the third the Gepides, whose ship being slow and heavy, they were called the Gepantas, or lazy ones.

(B.)

We are indebted to Latham for the following philological divisions of ancient Prussia :—

I. Old Prussian.—Dialects of Samland, Natangen, Tolkemir. Extinct, and known only through a paternoster and a vocabulary of A.D. 1521; a catechism of A.D. 1545; and a paternoster of A.D. 1561. Spoken in West and East Prussia from the Vistula to the Pregel.

II. Lithuanic.—Spoken from the Pregel to the frontier of Courland. Dialects of Insterburg and Nadrau in Prussia, and Samogitian or Samaitic dialect in Polish Lithuania.

III. Lettish.—Courland, South Livonia, and Vitepsk. Dialects numerous, *i.e.*, for the parts about Mitau and Riga (pure); Liebau and Dunaburg (corrupt).

Descent—(*a*) Galanditæ (Galindier), Sudowitæ (Sudauer), Pomerani, Pogesani (Pogesanier), Warmienses (Warmier), Nattangi (Natanger), Barthi (Barter), Nadrovitæ (Nadrauer), Scalovitæ (Schalauer). (*b*) Jaswingi, Pollexiani (Pollexianer). (*c*) Samogitæ (Samogitians), Semgalli (Semgallier), Lettones (Lithuanians), Carsowitæ. (*d*) Curi, Lami, Lettgalli, Ydumei, and Selones.

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

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Gregory VII.

Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) succeeded Alexander II. in 1073, and is said to have been the first Bishop of Rome that assumed the title of Pope (Papa) to the exclusion of other prelates, who also adopted it before his accession.

This remarkable man was born near Soano, a small city in Tuscany, of humble parentage. At an early age he was placed under the care of his uncle, the Abbot of St. Mary's, in Rome. On attaining manhood he entered a monastic Order, but, becoming disgusted with the laxity which existed among the Italian monks, he sought admission to the austere society of Cluni, where he distinguished himself by his theological and canonical learning as well as by the austerity of his life. On quitting Cluni he repaired to Rome, where he was appointed chaplain to Gregory VI., whose pupil he had formerly been.

On the deposition of his patron and master

Hildebrand returned to Germany and withdrew to Cluni. Here he became acquainted with a relative of the Emperor Henry III.—Bruno, who was subsequently elected Pope with the title of Leo IX. Hildebrand accompanied Bruno to Rome, and was appointed sub-deacon and treasurer of the Church. From this time he became the mainspring of the Roman hierarchy, and was the intimate adviser of Leo and his successors.

On the death of Alexander II., Hildebrand occupied the post of chancellor, and was unanimously elected by the cardinals to the vacant dignity. Although he took upon himself at once the full administration of the see, he did not assume the title of Pope until he had received the approbation of the Emperor Henry IV., to whom he despatched messengers for the purpose. The Emperor, pleased with this act of deference, readily confirmed the election of Hildebrand, who assumed the title of Gregory VII., to testify his personal regard for his old patron. Having received the Emperor's sanction, Gregory was consecrated on St. Peter's day, 1073. This was the last time that the imperial confirmation was sought for an election to the Papacy.

Hildebrand now began to carry out the two great objects of his ambition, the reform of the Church and the aggrandizement of the Roman See. With this view he published several edicts, asserting the supremacy and infallibility of the Church and enforcing celibacy on the clergy. The latter

regulation occasioned a great tumult, especially in Milan, for up to this period the monks alone had practised celibacy, the bishops and priests having wives and children.

In 1075 Gregory summoned a Council at Rome, by which kings and princes were forbidden, under pain of excommunication, to dispose of sees and benefices. He asserted that the investiture was a spiritual act, that the crosier was emblematic of the divine authority of bishops, and the ring was the symbol of their mystical marriage with the Church. He boldly asserted that kingdoms were held as fiefs of St. Peter, and that the estates of sees were inseparably connected with the spiritual office.

The Emperor Henry IV., however, paid no regard to Gregory's decrees, and continued to nominate German bishops to vacant sees. Thereupon he was summoned by the Pontiff to appear at Rome to answer a variety of charges. Henry, indignant at this assumption of power, convoked a Diet of the empire at Worms, at which many bishops and abbots were present.

The Diet decreed that Gregory should be deposed, and despatched messengers to the Roman clergy, calling upon them to elect a new Pope; upon which Gregory summoned a Council at the Lateran Palace in 1076, and solemnly excommunicated the Emperor, declared him deposed from the thrones of Germany and Italy, and his subjects released from their oath of allegiance.

Frederick Barbarossa.

Frederick I., surnamed Barbarossa, succeeded his uncle, Conrad III., on the imperial throne in 1152. Immediately on the death of Conrad the temporal and ecclesiastical princes assembled at Frankfort, and unanimously elected his nephew Frederick, who was crowned shortly after at Aix-la-Chapelle. Complaints having reached him of the tyrannical conduct of the Milanese, the Emperor despatched an envoy to Milan with a letter of remonstrance. This having led to no result, he convoked a Diet at Würzburg in 1157, at which it was resolved to organize an expedition to Italy. In July, 1158, all preparations were completed, and Frederick crossed the Alps at the head of more than a hundred thousand men.

Milan and other insubordinate towns were compelled to surrender and their privileges forfeited. Frederick now proceeded to hold a vast assembly on the plains of Roncaglia, where a multitude of tents were erected, the Germans and Italians encamping on different sides of the Po. Here the rights of the Italian cities to the possession of regalia were investigated, and only a few cities

were allowed to retain their consuls, who were to be appointed with the Emperor's consent. A general tribute was also imposed, from which not even ecclesiastics were exempt. On the news of these proceedings on the part of the Emperor reaching Rome, Pope Adrian immediately sent a letter of protest by a man of mean and ragged appearance. The Emperor, in retaliation, directed his secretaries to address the Pope in the singular instead of the plural, and to reverse the usual custom of placing the Pope's name before that of the sovereign. He also sent an embassy to the Papal Court to protest against the Papal assumptions, leading to recriminations on the part of the Pontiff, who now rejected a proposal of the Emperor to refer the points in dispute to the decision of six cardinals and six German bishops. A violent rupture between the empire and Papacy appeared imminent, when suddenly Pope Adrian was taken ill and died in September, 1159.

Hermann von Salza.

After visiting Vienna in 1224 Hermann von Salza proceeded to Frankfort, where King Henry then held his Court, and delivered the Pope's letter concerning the projected crusade. Here Von Salza was joined by the King of Jerusalem, who accompanied him to Cologne, where they were both most hospitably received by the Archbishop of Engelbert. Von Salza was now entrusted by the Emperor and the Pope with another more difficult mission, which required delicacy and tact. Waldemar II., King of Denmark, was at this period a prisoner in the hands of Henry, Count of Schwerin.

In consequence of some feud between the Count and the King, the Count had seized possession of the King of Denmark in a hunting expedition and kept him in close confinement.

From Cologne Von Salza, in company with the King, the Archbishop of Engelbert, and the Papal legate, proceeded to Saxony, where a great assembly of princes was convened to consider the steps to be taken for the liberation of the captured King. The first negotiations, undertaken by the

archbishop, failed, but Von Salza was more successful, and in July, 1224, concluded an arrangement with the Count of Schwerin for the release of Waldemar, who, however, did not recover his liberty till the following year.

From Saxony Von Salza proceeded to Salza, his native place, where he was received by the Landgrave of Thuringia, to whom he presented letters from the Emperor. Here Von Salza did his utmost to stir up the minds of the people to take part in the new crusade. After visiting the domains of the Order in France and other parts, where his efforts were, however, not attended with uniform success, Von Salza returned to Italy.

Notwithstanding all the exhortations of the Pope and the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Emperor could not be persuaded to undertake a crusade, and accordingly a fresh arrangement was concluded in July, 1225, at S. Germano, when the Emperor agreed to start in August, 1227, and to maintain a thousand knights in the Holy Land for two years. Further, he promised to equip a fleet of 150 ships, in which to convey 2,000 knights. He also deposited a sum of 100,000 ounces of gold in the hands of the King, the Patriarch, and the Master of the German Order, which would be forfeited should he die or be prevented, by any cause, from embarking in the expedition. Finally, according to this agreement, the Emperor bound himself to discharge every article of it faithfully, offering, in case of non-performance on

his part, to submit to any punishment the Church might inflict. That the Grand Master of the German Order should have taken an active part in this compact, affords decisive proof how much he had gained the esteem and confidence of the Emperor.

The Mendicant Orders.

The four principal Orders on the mendicant system were the Dominicans, Franciscans, Carmelites, and the Augustinian Eremites. The latter Order, to which Luther belonged, arose from the union of hermit brotherhoods under the rule of St. Augustine. The two great fraternities of Dominic and Francis were established in the thirteenth century, and surpassed all other monastic bodies in number and influence. They were favoured by the Popes, who employed them as agents in transacting the multifarious business of the Papal See. The Mendicants penetrated everywhere, discharging the duties of clergy, preaching sermons, and administering the sacraments.

Although the founder of the Franciscan Order expressly discouraged scholastic pursuits, yet many of that fraternity were distinguished by their learning and intellect, and even raised themselves to the rank of bishops.

At first they affected the greatest simplicity in their houses and churches, but, as they increased in wealth, the plainness of their edifices was super-

seded by almost regal splendour of architecture and decoration.

The celebrated Benedictine monk of St. Albans, Matthew Paris, writing in the reign of Henry III., gives a full description of the monastic Orders of his day, and of their gradual degeneration, the result of the increase of their wealth. Speaking of the Mendicants he says, "Although having nothing, they possess all things; and although without riches, they grow richer than all the rich."

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